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THE GAME AND PLAYE OF THE CHESSE.

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CAXTON'S

GAME AND PLAYE OF THE CHESSE,

1474.

A VERBATIM REPRINT OF THE FIRST EDITION.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

WILLIAM E. A. AXON, M.R.S.L.

"And ther was founde by clerkes full prudent
Of the cheſſe the play moſt glorious."

JOHN LYDGATE.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE readers of the "Antiquary" will remember the anecdote told with ſo much effuſion by Jonathan Oldbuck. '"Davy Wilſon," he ſaid, "commonly called Snuffy Davy, from his inveterate addiction to black rappee, was the very prince of ſcouts for ſearching blind alleys, cellars, and ſtalls, for rare volumes. He had the ſcent of a ſlow-hound, ſir, and the ſnap of a bull-dog. He would detect you an old black-letter ballad among the leaves of a law-paper, and find an *editio princeps* under the maſk of a ſchool Corderius. Snuffy Davy bought the 'Game of Cheſs, 1474,' the firſt book ever printed in England, from a ſtall in Holland for about two groſchen, or two-pence of our money. He ſold it to Oſborne for twenty pounds, and as many books as came to twenty pounds more. Oſborne re-ſold this inimitable windfall to Dr. Aſkew for ſixty guineas. At Dr. Aſkew's ſale," continued the old gentleman, kindling as he ſpoke, "this ineſtimable treaſure blazed forth in

its full value and was purchaſed by Royalty itſelf for one hundred and ſeventy pounds! Could a copy now occur, Lord only knows," he ejaculated with a deep ſigh and lifted-up hands, "Lord only knows what would be its ranſom; and yet it was originally ſecured, by ſkill and reſearch, for the eaſy equivalent of two-pence ſterling."'

Sir Walter Scott in a footnote adds:—"This bibliomaniacal anecdote is literally true; and David Wilſon, the author need not tell his brethren of the Roxburghe and Bannatyne Clubs, was a real perſonage." Mr. Blades, whoſe iconoclaſtic temper is not moved to mercy even by this good ſtory, ſays that although it "looks like a true bibliographical anecdote," its appearance is deceptive, and that "not a ſingle ſtatement is founded on fact."[1]

Jonathan Oldbuck did not venture to eſtimate the ſum that would ranſom a copy of the "Game of Cheſſe," and the world of the bibliomania has moved even ſince his days, ſo that prices which ſeemed fabulous, and were recounted with a ſort of awe-ſtruck wonder, have been ſurpaſſed in theſe latter days, and the chances of any ſucceſſor of "Snuffy Davy" buying a Caxton for two groſchen have been greatly reduced.

According to Mr. William Blades, our lateſt and beſt authority on the ſubject, there are but ten copies known of the firſt edition of the "Cheſſe" book.[2] There is a perfect copy in the King's

[1] Blades' "Life of Caxton," ii., 12.

[2] Mr. Blades enumerates only ten, but between the publication of his work in 1863 and the appearance in 1880 of a

Library in the Britiſh Muſeum. This is what ought to be Snuffy Davy's copy. A previous owner—R. Boys—has noted that it coſt him 3*s*. The copy in the Grenville Library has the table and laſt leaf ſupplied in facſimile. The copy in the Public Library at Cambridge is defective to the extent of five leaves. The Bodleian copy wants the laſt leaf. The Duke of Devonſhire's copy formerly belonged to Roger Wilbraham, and the firſt and eighth leaves are ſupplied in facſimile. The exemplar belonging to the Earl of Pembroke is perfect, "but on weak and ſtained paper." Earl Spencer's copy is perfect, clean, and unuſually large. Mr. H. Cunliffe's copy came from the Alchorne and Inglis Libraries, and wants the firſt two printed leaves, two near the end, and the laſt two. Mr. J. Holford's copy is perfect and in its original binding. It was once in the library of Sir Henry Mainwaring of Peover Hall, as his bookplate ſhows. On a fly-leaf is written, "Ex dono Thomae Delves, Baronett 1682." The copy belonging to the Rev. Edward Bankes is imperfect, and wants the dedicatory leaf and is ſlightly wormed.

The book, when complete, conſiſts of eight quaternions or eight leaves folded together and one quinternion or ſection of five ſheets folded together, making in all ſeventy-four leaves, of which the firſt and laſt are blank. The only type uſed through-

more popular one, an eleventh copy turned up. It is deſcribed further on. As both editions of Mr. Blades' book are frequently cited, it may be ſtated here that where the reference is to the page only, the one volume edition of 1880 is meant.

out is that ſtyled No. 1 by Mr. Blades. The lines are not ſpaced out; the longeſt meaſure five inches; a full page has thirty-one lines. Without title-page, ſignatures, numerals, or catch-words. The volume, as already mentioned, begins with a blank leaf, and on the ſecond recto is Caxton's prologue, ſpace being left for a two-line initial, without director. The text begins with a dedication :— "(T)o the right noble/ right excellent & vertuous prince George duc of Clarence Erl of Warwyk and of ſaliſburye/ grete chamberlayn of Englond & leutenant of Ireland oldeſt broder of kynge Edward by the grace of god kynge of England and of France/ your moſt humble ſervant william Caxton amonge other of your ſervantes ſendes unto yow peas. helthe. Joye and victorye upon your Enemyes/ Right highe puyſſant and." The text ends on the ſeventy-third recto, thus :— "And ſende yow thaccompliſshement of your hye noble. Joyous and vertuous deſirs Amen :/: Fynyſshid the laſt day of Marche the yer of our lord god. a. thouſand foure honderd and LXXIIII. *. *. *. *." The ſeventy-fourth leaf is blank.

It is unneceſſary to ſay that this book ſeldom comes into the market. The recorded ſales are very few. In 1682 R. Smith ſold a perfect copy for 13*s.* 2*d.* In 1773 J. Weſt's copy was bought by George III. for £32 0*s.* 6*d.* Alchorne's imperfect copy was bought by Inglis for £54 12*s.*, and at the ſale of his books found a purchaſer in Lord Audley for £31 10*s.*, and was again transferred, in 1855, to the poſſeſſion of Mr. J. Cunliffe

for £60 10*s.* 0*d.*[1] Mr. J. Holford's copy was bought at the Mainwaring ſale for £101.

The laſt copy offered for ſale was deſcribed in one of Mr. Bernard Quaritch's catalogues iſſued in 1872, and the account given by that veteran bibliopole is well worth reproduction.

CAXTON'S GAME AND PLAY OF CHESS MORALIZED, (tranſlated 1474) FIRST EDITION, folio, 65 LEAVES (of the 72), bound in old ruſſia gilt, £400.

Fynyſhid the laſt day of Marche the yer of our Lord God, a thouſand foure hondred and lxxiiii. . . .

An extremely large, though ſomewhat imperfect copy of

THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN ENGLAND,

from Caxton's preſs.

Mr. Blades quotes 9 copies (4 perfect, 5 imperfect), the preſent is the 10th known copy, and is TALLER than even the Grenville—hitherto the talleſt known copy; my copy meaſures 11¼ inch in height by 8 in width, whilſt the Grenville copy (also imperfect) is only 11 inches high.

COLLATION *of my copy:*

This Booke conteyneth iiii traytees . . .	1 *leaf.*
This firſt chapiter of the firſt tractate . . .	1 *leaf.*
The trouthe for to do Juſtice right wyſly, etc. to the end	62 *leaves.*
The laſt leaf with the date:	
In conqueryng his rightfull inheritance, *ending:* fynyſhed, *etc.* 1474	1 *leaf.*
	65 *leaves.*

My copy wants therefore 7 leaves, the two blank ones being out of queſtion. The imperfections include the firſt leaf, and two leaves in the ſecond chapitre of the fourth tractate, the end is all right. I ſhould be glad to hear of any IMPERFECT

[1] Blades, ii., 12.

copy of this work, which would ſupply me with what I want. In the mean time this precious relic of the Infancy of Printing in England can be ſeen by Buyers of Rare books.

See Dibdin's Bibl. Spenc. IV. p. 189.

No copy of this edition has been ſold for years; in 1813, Alchorne's copy, wanting firſt two leaves, the laſt two leaves and two leaves in the ſecond chapter of the fourth tractate, fetched at Evans', £54. 12*s*. The value of this claſs of books has much riſen ſince then, and may now be conſidered, as ten times greater.

In comparing the firſt edition of "Caxton's Game of Cheſs" with the ſecond, one perceives many variations in the ſpelling. I conſider the *firſt edition* to be the more intereſting, for a variety of reaſons:

1. It is the firſt book printed in England.
2. It is the *Editio princeps* of the Engliſh verſion.
3. It ſhows the Art of Printing in its crudeſt form.
4. It has a Poſt-ſcript not in the ſecond edition.

Both editions run on together to the paſſage on the laſt page of the ſecond edition:

And a man that lyueth in thys world without vertues lyueth not as a man but as a beſte.

The firſt edition ends thus:

And therefore my right redoubted Lord I pray almighty god to ſave the Kyng our ſoverain lord to gyve him grace to lyue as a Kynge ſabounde in all vertues | to be aſſiſted with all other his lordes in ſuch wyſe yn his noble royame of Englond may proſpere | habounde in vertues and yn ſynne may be eſchewid juſtice kepte | the royame defended good men rewarded maleſactours punyſhid the ydle peple to be put to laboure that he wyth the nobles of the royame may regne glorioully.

In conquerynge his rightfull inheritaunce | that verrayneas and charite may endure in both his royames and that marchandiſe may have his cours in ſuche wiſe that every man eſchewe ſynne | and encreſe in vertuous occupacions | Prayng your good grace to reſſeyve this litytl and ſymple book made under the hope and ſhadow of your noble protection by hym that is your moſt humble ſervant in gree and thanke. And I ſhall praye almighty god for your long

lyf & welfare | whiche he preſerve And ſende now thaccompliſhment of your hye noble joyous and vertuous deſirs Amen : | :

Fynyſſhyd the laſt day of marche the yer of our lord god a. thouſand four hondred and lxxiiii.*.:.:.*.

The ſecond edition ends thus :

Thenne late every man of what condycion he be that redyth or herith this litel book rede. take therby enſaumple to amend hym. Explicit per Caxton.

This copy came from the library of Mr. L. M. Petit.[1]

It will be noticed that Mr. Quaritch calls the *editio princeps* of Caxton's "Game and Play of the Cheſſe" the firſt book printed in England. This was the general opinion of bibliographers before the inveſtigations of Mr. Blades. Dibdin, although he ſeems to have had ſome doubt, pronounced in favour of that view. Yet it is clearly erroneous. The only materials for judgment are thoſe afforded by the colophon and the prologue to the ſecond edition, with the ſilent but eloquent teſtimony of typography. Caxton ends the firſt edition with the words:—"Fynyſshid the laſt day of Marche the yer of our lord god a thouſand four hondred and LXXIIII." The word "fynyſshid," as Mr. Blades obſerves, "has doubtleſs the ſame ſignification here as in the epilogue to the ſecond book of Caxton's tranſlation of the Hiſtories of Troy, 'Begonne in Brugis, contynued in Gaunt and finyſshed in Coleyn,' which evidently refers to the tranſlation only. The date, 1475-6, has been affixed, becauſe in the Low

[1] Van der Linde, "Geſchichte und Literatur des Schachſpiels," Berlin, 1874, ii., 125.

Countries at that time the year commenced on Eaſter-day; this in 1474 fell on April 10th, thus giving, as the day of the concluſion of the tranſlation, 31 March 1475, the ſame year being the earlieſt poſſible period of its appearance as a printed book." Then there is Caxton's own racy account of the circumſtances under which the book firſt appeared:—

"And emong alle other good werkys It is a werke of ryght ſpecial recomendacion to enforme and to late vnderſtonde wyſedom and vertue vnto them that be not lernyd ne can not dyſcerne wyſedom fro folye Thēne emonge whom there was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the royame of fraunce of the ordre of thoſpytal of Saynt Johns of Jheruſalem which entended the ſame and hath made a book of the cheſſe moralyſed whiche at ſuche tyme as I was reſident in brudgys in the counte of Flaundres cam into my handes/ whiche whan I had redde and ouerſeen/ me ſemed ful neceſſarye for to be had in engliſshe/ And in eſchewyng of ydlenes And to thende that ſōme which haue not ſeen it/ ne vnderſtonde frenſh ne latyn J delybered in my ſelf to tranſlate it in to our maternal tonge/ And whan I ſo had achyeued the ſayd tranſlacion/ J dyde doo ſette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym/ Whiche anone were depeſshed and ſolde wherfore by cauſe thys ſayd book is ful of holſom wyſedom and requyſyte vnto euery aſtate and degree/ J haue purpoſed to enprynte it/ ſhewyng therin the figures of ſuche perſons as longen to the playe."

It is clear from this that both the tranſlation and

printing belong to the period of Caxton's reſidence in Bruges. From the uſe of the inſtrumental form "dyde doo ſette en enprynte" it might be thought that Caxton employed the ſervices of ſome printer, but although commonly ſo employed, there are inſtances which will not bear this interpretation of its intention.[1] He either employed a printer or made ſome partnerſhip with one, and there are various indications that confirm Mr. Blades' theory that the book came from the preſs of Colard Manſion.

The ſecond edition is undoubtedly the work of our firſt Engliſh printer. "Explicit per Caxton" is the unambiguous ſtatement of the colophon. It is a much more advanced ſpecimen of typography than the firſt edition. It has ſignatures, of which *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, are quaternions, *k* and *l* are terternions, making in all eighty-four leaves, of which the firſt is blank. There is no title-page, and the type uſed is that which Mr. Blades reckons as No. 2*. The lines are ſpaced out to an even length. There are twenty-nine lines to a full page, and the full line meaſures $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches. The prologue begins on *a ij.*, and the table of chapters begins on the next page. The text begins on the recto of *a iii.* The text ends on the recto of *l* 6, the laſt page being blank. There are ſixteen woodcuts in the volume, which are uſed twenty-four times. There has been ſome diverſity of opinion as to the year in which this "Game of the Cheſſe" came from the preſs of Caxton. The book is not dated. Dibdin thought it one of the printer's earlieſt efforts. Fig-

[1] Blades, ii., 48.

gins regarded it as the earlieſt iſſue of the Weſtminſter preſs, and further believed that it was printed from cut metal types. This is not the view of Mr. Blades, who ſays: "An examination of the work, however, with a typographical eye does not afford a ſingle evidence of very early workmanſhip. All Caxton's early books were uneven in the length of their lines—this is quite even. Not one of the early works had any ſignatures—this is ſigned throughout. Theſe two features alone are quite ſufficient to fix its date of impreſſion at leaſt as late as 1480, when Caxton firſt began the uſe of ſignatures; but when we find that every known copy of this edition of the 'Cheſs-Book' preſents a thicker and more worn appearance than any one copy of any other book, there is good reaſon for ſuppoſing that this may have followed the 'Tulli' of 1481, and have been the laſt book for which Type No. 2* was uſed."[1]

Mr. Blades deſcribes nine known copies, ſo that even fewer exemplars remain of the ſecond edition than of its predeceſſor. The copy in the King's Library in the Britiſh Muſeum is imperfect, wanting ſeveral leaves, and is mended in many places. The copy in the Pepyſian Collection at Cambridge wants one-half of the laſt leaf. Trinity College, Cambridge, has a perfect copy, "but a bad impreſſion." The Bodleian copy is defective in not having the laſt leaf. St. John's College, Oxford, has a copy, from which one-half of *d iii.* has been torn away. The Imperial Library at Vienna has

[1] Blades, ii., 97.

an imperfect copy. The Duke of Devonshire's copy is perfect, but it is "a poor impression, and slightly stained." The Earl of Pembroke's copy is very imperfect. Earl Spencer's is only slightly imperfect. The prices fetched by the second edition have a sufficiently wide range. In 1698, at Dr. Bernard's sale, a copy sold for *1s. 6d.* Farmer's copy in 1798 fetched £4 4*s.* Ratcliffe's copy was bought at his sale for £16 by Willett; and when his books came to the hammer in 1813, it was purchased by the Duke of Devonshire for £173 5*s.*[1] It is interesting to know that the copy of the second edition in the Bibliotheca Spenceriana formerly belonged to Laurence Sterne, who bought it for a few shillings at York![2]

In the present reprint, the text followed is that of the first edition, transcribed from the copy in the British Museum; but the variations, alterations, and additions made in the second issue are all recorded in footnotes. The reader has, therefore, before him the work in all its fulness. The same reasons that have led to the adoption of this course have also decided the publisher to include facsimiles of the curious woodcuts which appeared in the second edition. These, although necessarily reductions in size, reproduce the quaint vigour of the originals.

Caxton, we have seen, translated the "Game of the Chesse" from the French. There were in effect two, if not three, from which he may have taken

[1] Blades, ii., 95.

[2] Dibdin's "Bibliotheca Spenceriana," iv., 195.

his verſion. One of theſe is by Jean Faron, Ferron, or Feron (as the name is variouſly ſpelled), a monk of the order of St. Dominic, of whom the notices are exceedingly ſcanty.[1] La Croix du Maine ſtyles him "de l'Ordre des Frères Preſcheurs ou Jacobins du Paris." La Monnaye ſays that the tranſlation was made from the Latin of Ceſſoles, and was begun in the year 1347. It has not been printed.[2] The tranſlation is conſidered a literal verſion of the Latin of Ceſſoles.

The prologue of Ferron's verſion is as follows:—"Chy enſuit le geu des Eſchas moraliſé, ouquel a pluſiers exemples bien à noter. A noblehomme, Bertrand de Taraſcon, frere Jehan Ferron, de l'ordre des Freres precheurs de Paris, ſon petil et humble chappelain ſoy tout. Le Sainte Eſcripture dit que Dieux a fait a chaſcun commandement de pourchaſſier à tous nos prochains leur ſauvement. Or eſt-il ainſi que nos prochains ne ſont pas tout un, ains ſont de diverſes condicions, eſtas et manieres, ſy comme il appert. Car les uns ſont nobles; les aultres non: les aultres ſont de cler engin; les aultres, non: les aultres ſont enclins à devocion; les aultres, non. Et pour ce, affin que le commandement de Dieu ſoit mis à execution bien convenablement, il convient avoir pluſiers voyes et baillier à chaſcun ce qui lui eſt plus convenable; et ainſi pourroit il le commandement de Dieu accomplir; . . . . Pour tant je, voſtre petit chappe-

[1] See Proſper Marchand, "Dict. Hiſt.," t. i., p. 181.

[2] "Les Bibliothéques Françoiſes de La Croix du Maine et de Du Verdier." n. e. Paris, 1782, t. i., p. 493.

lain, à voſtre requeſte, que je tieng pour commendement, vous ai volu tranſlata de latin en français le Gieu des Eſchas moraliſé, que fiſt l'un de nos freres, appelé frere Jaques de Coſſoles, maiſtre en divinité, ſi que vous l'entendés plus legierrement; et à exemple des nobles hyſtoires qui y ſont notteés, veuillés maintenir, quant à vous, honneſtement, et quant aux autres juſtement. . . . Or prenés donc ce petit preſent, comencié le 4ᵉ jour de May, l'an 1347." [1]

That Caxton made uſe of Ferron's verſion is clear. Thus Mr. Blades mentions the deſcription of Evilmerodach as "un homme joly ſans juſtice" as peculiar to Ferron, whoſe verſion he regards as the baſis of the firſt and third chapters of Caxton's work.

Dr. Van der Linde mentions a number of MSS.; in ſome the date is given as 1357, and in one as 1317. This verſion remains unprinted, but there are MSS. of it in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Aoſta, Cambrai, at Bruſſels, in the Britiſh Muſeum, Chartres, at Bern, and at Stockholm.[2]

Dr. Van der Linde alſo deſcribes a MS. on parchment of the fifteenth century, forming part of the national library at Paris, which contains the Game of Cheſs in verſe.

"Mès ſi d'eſbat te prent tallant,
Pren ton eſbat déuement;
Mès ſi à jouer vieulx attendre,
Un noble jou te faulte attendre,
C'eſt des echecs qui eſt licite
Et à touz bien les gens incite."

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[1] Dr. Van der Linde, "Geſchichte," 114.

[2] Cf. Van der Linde, "Geſchichte," and his "Jartauſend."

The author has concealed his name with an ingenuity that has ſo far defied penetration.

> "Nommez mon nom et mon ſurnom,
> Je ey eſcript tout environ,
> A vingt et dous lettres ſans plus,
> Sera trouvé cy au deſſus
> En enſcript, et ſans plus ne moins."

On this it is only neceſſary to quote the remarks of a French critic :—"Ou ne nous dit pas ſi c'eſt dans la ſuite même de la phraſe, ou ſeulement en acroſticke, que ſe trouvent les vingt-deux lettres de ces nom myſtérieux. Nous ne ſaurions former aucun nom avec les initiales des trente vers qui précèdent ceux que nous venons de citer ; et le merite de l'ouvrage ne nous encourage pas à faire des longues recherches pour découvrir un nom que l'auteur a pris plaiſir à nous cacher." [1]

The bulk of Caxton's work is undoubtedly from the French tranſlation of Jehan de Vignay, whoſe dedication to Prince John of France has ſimply been transformed into a ſimilar addreſs to the Duke of Clarence. He ſtyles De Vignay "an excellent doctor of the order of the Hoſpital of St. John's of Jeruſalem." This is the only authority we have for ſuppoſing De Vignay to be connected with that order. He ſtyles himſelf "hoſpitaller de l'ordre de haut pas," which was ſituated in the Faubourg St. Jacques of Paris. It is curious that two members of the ſame order—for Ferron was alſo a Jacobin—ſhould independently have occupied themſelves with the ſame

[1] Jaubert, cited by Van der Linde, "Geſchichte," t. i., p. 122.

work. The verſion by De Vignay was probably the later of the two, and it was alſo the moſt popular, for whilſt Ferron's is ſtill unprinted, that of De Vignay has been frequently re-iſſued from the preſs. The work is dedicated to Jean de France, Duc de Normandie, who became king in 1350. It will be ſeen from this that theſe two French verſions were practically contemporaneous.

The prologue to the book is as follows:—"A Tres noble & excellent prince Jehan de france duc de normendie & auiſne filz de philipe par le grace de dieu Roy de france. Frere Jehan de vignay voſtre petit Religieux entre les autres de voſtre ſeignorie/ paix ſante Joie & victoire ſur vos ennemis. Treſchier & redoubte ſeignr/ pour ce que Jay entendu et ſcay que vous veez & ouez volentiers choſes proffitables & honeſtes et qui tendent alinformacion de bonne meur ay Je mis vn petit liuret de latin en francois le quel meſt venuz a la main nouuellement/ ou quel pluſſieurs auctoritez et dis de docteurs & de philoſophes & de poetes & des anciens ſages/ ſont Racontez & ſont appliquiez a la moralite des nobles hommes et des gens de peuple ſelon le gieu des eſchez le quel liure Tres puiſſant et tres redoubte ſeigneur jay fait ou nom & ſoubz vmbre de vous pour laquelle choſe treſchr ſeignr Je vous ſuppli & requier de bonne voulente de cuer que il vo^{9} daigne plaire a receuvoir ce liure en gre auſſi bien que de vn greignr maiſtre de moy/ car la tres bonne voulente que Jay de mielx faire ſe je pouoie me doit eſtre reputee pour le fait/ Et po^{r} plus clerement proceder en ceſte ouure/ Jay ordene que les

chappitres du liure ſoient eſcrips & mis au commencement afin de veoir plus plainement la matiere de quoy le dit liure ſpole."[1]

It will be ſeen that this is the foundation of Caxton's dedication of the Cheſs-book to the Earl of Warwick. The "Golden Legend," printed by Caxton in 1484, was in effect a tranſlation from "La Legende Dorée," made before the year 1380 by Jehan de Vignay, who in his prologue mentions that he had previouſly tranſlated into French "Le miroir des hyſtoires du monde," at the requeſt of "Ma dame Jehanne de Borgoigne, royne de France."[2] This preface Caxton, as uſual, adopted with ſome changes of name and other alterations, amongſt which is a reference to "the book of the cheſſe" as one of his works. The "Legenda Aurea" of Jacobus de Voragine is, of courſe, the original ſource of De Vignay's "Legende Dorée," and Caxton's "Golden Legend."

Ferron and de Vignay were avowedly tranſlators. Their original was Jacques de Ceſſoles. The name of this author has been tortured into ſo many fantaſtic forms that one may almoſt deſpair of recovering the original. Cæſolis, Caſſalis, Caſtulis, Caſulis, Ceſolis, Ceſſole, Ceſſulis, Ceſulis, Cezoli, de Cezolis, de Coſſoles, de Courcelles, Seſſelis, Teſſalis, Teſſellis, de Theſſolus, de Theſſolonia, and de Theſſolonica are different manners of ſpelling his ſurname, and the two laſt are certainly maſterpieces of transformation. Proſper Marchand has amuſed himſelf by collecting ſome vain ſpeculations

[1] Blades' "Caxton," 173-175. [2] Blades, i., 166.

of previous writers as to the age, country, and perſonality of Jacques de Ceſſoles. Some counted him a Lombard, ſome an Italian, whilſt others again boldly aſſerted that he was a Greek!

He lived towards the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, and having joined the Dominican order, was a "Maître en Théologie" of that brotherhood at Reims. Various works are attributed to him, and his learning and piety had many eulogiſts.

It is more than probable that his name would have been much leſs widely known but for the happy accident that turned his attention to the game of cheſs. It was a popular diverſion, and in the moralizing ſpirit of the age he ſaw in it an allegory of the various components of the commonwealth. The men who were merely killing time were perhaps flattered at the thought that they were at the ſame time learning the modes of ſtatecraft. Then, as now, the teachers of morality felt that a ſong might reach him who a ſermon flies, and they did not ſcruple to uſe in the pulpit whatever aids came handy. The popular ſtories, wiſe ſaws, and modern inſtances, were common enough on the lips of the preachers, and ſuch collections as the "Geſta Romanorum" ſhow what a pitch of ingenuity in unnatural interpretation they had reached. An appropriate inſtance is furniſhed by it in the following quaint faſhion of moralizing the cheſs play:—

"Antonius was a wys emperour regnyng in the cite of Rome, the which vſid moche to pley with houndis; and aftir þat pley, all þe day aftir he wolde

vſe þe cheſſe. So yn a day, as he pleide at þe cheſſe, & byheld the kyng ſette yn the pley, ſom tyme hy and ſom tyme lowe, among aufyns and pownys, he thoughẗ þerwitẖ þat hit wold be ſo with him, for he ſhuld dey, and be hid vndir ertẖ. And þerfore he devided his Reame in thre parties; and he yaf oo part to þe kyng of Ieruſalem; þe ſecunde part vnto þe lordiſ of his Reame or his empire; and the thrid partie vnto the pore people; & yede him ſelf vnto the holy londe, and ther he endid his lyf in peas.

MORALITE.

Seth now, good ſirs; this emperour, þat lovith ſo wele play, may be called eche worldly man þat occupieth him in vanytes of the world; but he moſte take kepe of the pley of the cheſſe, as did the emperoure. the chekir or þe cheſſe hath viij. poyntes in eche partie. In euery pley beth viij. kyndes of men, *ſcil.* man, woman, wedewer, wedowis, lewid men, clerkes, riche men, and pouere men. at this pley pleieth vj. men. the firſt man, þat goth afore, hath not but oo poynt, but whenne he goth aſide, he takith anoþer; ſo by a pouere man; he hath not, but when he comyẗ to þe deẗ witẖ pacience, þen ſhall he be a kyng in heuen, with þe kyng of pore men. But if he grucche ayenſt his neighbour of his ſtat, and be a thef, and raviſsh þat wher he may, þen he is ytake, and put in to the preſon of helle. The ſecund, *ſcil.* alphyn, renneth iij. poyntes both vpward and douneward; [he] betokenyth wiſe men, the whiche by deceyuable

eloquence & takyng of money deceyueth, & ſo he is made oonly. The iij. *ſcil.* þe kny3t, hath iij. poyntes, & goth *þer*with̄; [he] betokenyth̄ gentilmen þat rennyth aboute, & raviſshith, and ioyeth̄ for her kynrede, & for habundaunce of richeſſe. The fourth̄, *ſcil.* þe rook, he holdith length & brede, and takith vp what ſo is in his way; he betokenyth̄ okerers and falſe m*er*chaunt3, þat rennyth aboute ouer all̄, for wynnyng & lucre, & rechith̄ not how thei geten, ſo that thei haue hit. The fifthe is þe quene, that goth fro blak to blak, or fro white to white, and is yſet beſide þe kyng, and is ytake fro the kyng. This quene bytokenyth virgyns and dameſels, þat goth fro chaſtite to ſynne, and beth ytake by the devil̄, for glovis or ſuch̄ man*er* yiftis. The vj. is to whom all̄ owe to obey and mynyſtre; and he goth̄ forth, and bakward ayen, & in either ſide, & takith ouer all̄; ſo ſone diſcendith̄ in to þe world, and aſcendith to god by praiers; But when he takith [no] kepe of god, and hath̄ no meyne, þan is hit to þe man chekmate. And *þer*fore let vs not charge of oure eſtatis, no more þan is *with* þe men, when þei be put vp in þe poket; then hit is no charge who be above or who be byneth̄; and ſo by the Spirit of loulyneſſe we may come to þe ioy of heven. And þat graunt vs, *qui viuit* &c."

It is not, therefore, ſurpriſing to learn that Jacques de Ceſſoles found texts for ſundry ſermons on the game that formed ſo favourite a diverſion of clergy and laity. The favour with which theſe diſcourſes were received no doubt gratified the worthy Dominican father. At the requeſt of ſome of

thoſe who heard them he began to write down the ſubſtance of his ſermons. The reſult was the "Liber de moribus Hominum et officiis Nobilium ac Popularium ſuper ludo ſcachorum," which immediately attained great popularity. This is ſhown by the bibliography of Dr. A. Van der Linde in a ſtriking manner, for he has deſcribed two hundred codices to be found in the various public libraries of Europe.[1]

The difficulties in the way of forming any clear conception as to the life and perſonality of Ceſſoles, Ferron, and De Vignay are well ſhown in an article by M. C. Leber.[2] Dr. Ernſt Köpke, who has re-examined the evidences as to Ceſſoles, holds that he was a Lombard.[3]

The chief ſource from which Ceſſoles took his material was the treatiſe "De Regimine Principum" of Egidius Romanus.

He was of the great Neapolitan family of the Colonna, and his Chriſtian name appears to have been Guido, but his deſignations have undergone ſome curious transformations. Born at Rome, 22nd Sept., 1216, Guido Colonna went at an early age to Paris, where, from the name of his birthplace, he

[1] "Geſchichte," i., 29. There is a manuſcript copy in the Chetham Library, Manchester, which he does not name. It came from the Farmer Collection, and is in a volume containing a number of fifteenth century Latin tracts. See account of European MSS. in the Chetham Library, Manchester, by James Orchard Halliwell, F.R.S., Manchester, 1842, p. 15.

[2] "Bulletin du Bibliophile," 1836-1837, 2ième serie, p. 527.

[3] "Academy," July 12, 1881.

became known as Ægidius Romanus, with the French form of Gilles de Rome. He was an ardent and enthuſiaſtic diſciple of St. Thomas Aquinas, and his familiarity with that great doctor of the Church led him to deſire admiſſion to the Dominican order, but a difficulty intervened from the circumſtance that he had already contracted ties which bound him to the order of St. Auguſtine. To this untoward accident may probably be attributed no little of the extenſion of the philoſophical doctrine of Aquinas; for Colonna, unable or unwilling to be relieved of the vows that bound him to the Auguſtinians, preached eagerly amongſt them the Thomiſt ſpeculations of his friend and maſter. In the controverſy with the Franciſcans, thoſe whom he had indoctrinated were valuable allies to the Thomiſts, for their aid, coming from an independent organization, appeared to carry the weight of impartiality, and to be unaſſailable on the plea of partiſan intereſt. In the year 1287 there was a general convocation of the order of St. Auguſtine at Florence, and at this aſſembly it was decreed that the doctors of the order ſhould teach in conformity with the deciſions arrived at by Colonna. To him is largely due the ſucceſs of the Thomiſt ſcheme, of which he was an able, perſiſtent, and vigorous exponent. Many tracts by him remain in print and MS. on theſe ſubjects. The fame he had thus acquired gained him the name of *doctor fundamentarius* and *doctor fundatiſſimus*. His lectures at Paris attracted to him the attention of Philippe le Hardi, who thought him a fitting perſon to be en-

truſted with the education of his ſon, who was afterwards known to hiſtory as Philippe le Bel. It was whilſt occupied with this royal youth that the thought of compoſing or compiling—and the terms were in practice interchangeable in thoſe days—occurred, and the reſult was the treatiſe "De regimine Principum libri iii." Philippe le Hardi, if not an educated man himſelf—and there are doubts as to whether he could write his own name—was laudably anxious that his heir ſhould have the beſt inſtruction that could be obtained. It cannot well be claimed that the able, handſome, and unſcrupulous Philippe was any great credit to his preceptor. The deſpotic and perfidious character of the king probably owed more to the influence of Nogaret and other defenders of the "right divine of kings to govern wrong," than to the ſoberer precepts of Colonna. That Philippe had ſome tincture of literary feeling may be inferred from his employment of Jehan de Meung to tranſlate the military treatiſe of Vegetius Flavius Renatus, a compilation of the ſecond century of the preſent era, which was ſo popular in the middle ages that it was tranſlated by Caxton into Engliſh. Still better evidence is the tranſlation made for the king by the ſame poet of Boethius, whoſe ſtoical philoſophy muſt have had a ſpecial appropriateneſs for thoſe times of political ſtorm and ſtreſs, when the fickleneſs of fortune muſt have been a matter of only too common repute. Guido Colonna was elected by his admiring brethren the general of the order in 1292, and took up his reſidence at Bourges, its metropolitan ſeat.

In this honourable office he continued his literary labours, and to this period are aſſigned the greater part of his numerous works. He died at Avignon in 1316. His body was tranſlated to Paris, where his effigy in black marble, with his epitaph, remained until the French revolution.[1] It would be ſuperfluous to enumerate his philoſophical writings, for they would have no intereſt in the preſent day. His commentary on Ariſtotle "De Anima," it may be obſerved, was dedicated to Edward I. His name is now chiefly remembered becauſe his work on the rule of princes formed the baſis of the treatiſe in which Jacques de Ceſſoles moralized the faſhionable game of the cheſs.

One intereſting inſtance of the popularity of Colonna's work is the tranſlation of it made into Engliſh verſe by Thomas Occleve.[2] He wrote it in 1411 or 1412, and its object was to obtain the payment of an annuity from the exchequer which had been granted to him, but the payment of which was very irregular. The book was dedicated to the Prince of Wales. After mentioning his purpoſe to tranſlate from the (apocryphal) letter of Ariſtotle to Alexander and "Gyles of Regement of Prynces," he proceeds:—

> "There is a booke, Jacob de Ceſſoles,
> Of the ordre of Prechours, made, a worthy man,

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[1] Blades' "Life of Caxton," vol. ii., p. 9.

[2] "De regimine Principum," a poem by Thomas Occleve, written in the reign of Henry IV. Edited, for the firſt time, by Thomas Wright, Eſq., M.A., F.S.A., &c. Printed for the Roxburghe Club. London: J. B. Nichols, 1860, 4to.

That the Cheſſe moraliſede clepede is,
In whiche I purpoſe eke to labour ywis
And here and there, as that my litelle witte
Afforthe may, I thynke tranſlate it.

And al be it that in that place ſquare
Of the lyſtes, I meane the eſchekere,
A man may learn to be wiſe and ware;
I that have avanturede many a yere,
My witte therein is but litelle the nere,
Save that ſomewhat I know a Kynges draught,
Of other draughts lernede have I naught."—(p. 77.)

"In thoſe days," ſays Warton, "eccleſiaſtics and ſchoolmen preſumed to dictate to kings and to give rules for adminiſtering ſtates, drawn from the narrow circle of ſpeculation, and conceived amid the pedantries of a cloiſter. It was probably recommended to Occleve's notice by having been tranſlated into Engliſh by John Treviſa, a celebrated tranſlator about the year 1390.[1]

Having thus traced the ſtream back to its fountain, we return to Caxton. The ſtory of his life has been told by Mr. Blades, and only the moſt eſſential facts of his buſy and uſeful career need be recapitulated here. He was born in the Weald of Kent, and it has been conjectured that the manor of Cauſtons, near Hadlow, was the original home of the family. He was apprenticed to Alderman Robert Large, a mercer, who was afterwards Lord Mayor. The entry in the books of the Mercers' Company leads to the inference that Caxton was born about 1422. Probably on the death of Large, in 1441, Caxton went abroad, for he tells us that

[1] Warton's "Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry," 1871, iii., 44.

in 1471 he had been reſident outſide England for thirty years. About 1462 or 1463 he was Governor of the Engliſh Nation or Merchant Adventurers at Bruges. This was a poſition of great influence, and it is thought to have enabled the loyal mercer to give good ſervice to Edward IV., who was an exile in 1470. Caxton's marriage was not much later than 1469, and it is conjectured that this led him to enter the ſervice of the Ducheſs of Burgundy. She had literary taſtes, and at her requeſt he tranſlated the "Recuyell des Hiſtoires de Troyes" of Raoul Le Fevre. It was the demand for copies of this that exhauſted Caxton's calligraphic patience, and led to his employment of a printer. The incident may have been caſual, but it led to great reſults. It has been ſaid that he learned the printers' art at Cologne, but Mr. Blades ſuppoſes that he entered its myſtery at Bruges under Colard Manſion, with whom he appears to have had ſome partnerſhip. Probably towards the end of 1476 Caxton returned to England. He had the favour of Edward IV. and of his ſiſter, Ducheſs of Burgundy, and the friendſhip of the King's brother-in-law, Earl Rivers. Ninety-nine diſtinct productions iſſued from Caxton's preſs, he was printer, publiſher, tranſlator, and ſomething of author as well. He ſet in good earneſt about the work that is ſtill going on—of making the beſt acceſſible literature widely and commonly known. This uſeful career was only ended by his death. The exact date is not known, but it was probably late in 1491. He left a married daughter. Caxton

was a good buſineſs man. He was alſo a ſincere lover of literature, and he was at his favourite work of tranſlation only a few hours before the final ſummons came.

The quality of Caxton as a tranſlator is not a matter of much doubt. It may be that the archaic forms give an additional flavour to his ſtyle, ſince they preſent few difficulties to the modern reader, and yet ſound like echoes from the earlier periods of the language. Generally he is content to follow his author with almoſt plodding fidelity, but occaſionally he makes additions which are eminently characteriſtic. His author having remarked :—" Il neſt au Jour Duy nulle choſe qui tant grieue Rome ne ytalie cõme fait le college Des notaires publiques Car ilz ne ſont mie en accort enſemble"—Caxton improves the paſſage thus :—

" For ther is no thynge at this day that ſo moche greueth rome and Italye as doth the college of notaries and aduocates publicque. For they ben not of oon a corde/ Alas and in Engeland what hurte doon the aduocats. men of law. And attorneyes of court to the comyn peple of y^e^ royame as well in the ſpirituell lawe as in the temporall/ how torne they the lawe and ſtatutes at their pleaſir/ how ete they the peple/ how enpouere they the comynte/ I ſuppoſe that in alle Criſtendom ar not ſo many pletars attorneys and men of the lawe as ben in englond onely/ for yf they were nombrid all that lange to the courtes of the channcery kinges benche. comyn place. cheker. reſſayt and helle And the bagge berars of the ſame/ hit ſhold amounte to a grete

multitude And how alle thyſe lyue & of whome. yf hit ſhold be vttrid & told/ hit ſhold not be beleuyd. For they entende to theyr ſynguler wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn/"

Another addition is the brief paſſage in the firſt chapter of the fourth tract in which the "good old times" are lamented and contraſted with the decadence of the then preſent—now the four centuries paſt.

"Alas what haboundance was ſome tymes in the royames. And what proſpite/ In whiche was Iuſtice/ And euery man in his office contente/ how ſtood the cytees that tyme in worſhip and renome/ how was renomed the noble royame of Englond Alle the world dredde hit And ſpack worſhip of hit/ how hit now ſtandeth and in what haboundance I reporte me to them that knowe hit yf ther ben theeuis wyth in the royame or on the ſee/ they knowe that laboure in the royame And ſayle on the ſee I wote well the fame is grete therof I pray god ſaue that noble royame And ſende good true and politicque counceyllours to the gouernours of the ſame &c./"

The concluding paragraph of the book is alſo due to Caxton.

"And therfore my ryght redoubted lord I pray almighty god to ſaue the kyng our ſouerain lord & to gyue hym grace to yſſue as a kynge & tabounde in all vertues/ & to be aſſiſted with all other his lordes in ſuch wyſe y^{t} his noble royame of Englond may proſpere & habounde in vertues/ and y^{t} ſynne may be eſchewid iuſtice kepte/ the royame defended

good men rewarded malefactours punyſshid & the ydle peple to be put to laboure that he wyth the nobles of the royame may regne glorioufly In conquerynge his rightfull enheritaunce/ that verray peas and charite may endure in bothe his royames/ and that marchandiſe may haue his cours in ſuche wiſe that euery man eſchewe ſynne/ and encrece in vertuous occupacions/ Praynge your good grace to reſſeyue this lityll and ſymple book made vnder the hope and ſhadowe of your noble protection by hym that is your moſt humble ſeruant/ in gree and thanke And I ſhall praye almighty god for your longe lyf & welfare/ whiche he preſerue And ſende yow thaccompliſshement of your hye noble. Ioyous and vertuous deſirs Amen :/: Fynyſshid the laſt day of marche the yer of our lord god. a. thouſand foure honderd and lxxiiii"

This was ſtruck out in the ſecond edition, and the following briefer farewell ſubſtituted:—

"Thenne late euery man of what condycion he be that redyth or herith this litel book redde take therby enſaumple to amend hym.

Explicit per Caxton."

The alteration may perhaps be received as an evidence of our firſt Engliſh printer's faſtidiouſneſs as an author.

The bibliography of the editions, tranſlations, and imitations of Ceſſoles is long and intricate. Details of MSS. have not been thought neceſſary. They have been amply deſcribed by Dr. Van der Linde. The treatiſe on the rule of princes of Colonna has been taken as furniſhing the matter

which Jacques de Ceſſoles afterwards re-arranged under the attractive form of a deſcription of the game of cheſs. The editions of the Latin text are followed by particulars of the tranſlations into French, Engliſh, Spaniſh, Italian, and other languages. Each title has appended the name of the bibliographer on whoſe authority it is given.

Theſe are as follows:—

Hain.—Repertorium Bibliographicum . . . opera Ludovici Hain. Stuttgart, 1826.

Ebert.—A General Bibliographical Dictionary, from the German of Frederic Adolphus Ebert. Oxford, 1837. 4 vols.

Graeſſe.—Tréſor de Livres rares et précieux: par Jean George Théodore Graeſſe. Dreſde, 1859-67. 6 vols.

Brunet.—Manuel du Libraire par Jacques-Charles Brunet. Paris, 1860.

Linde.—Geſchichte und Literatur des Schachſpiels von Antonius van der Linde. Berlin, 1874.

Das erſte Jartauſend der Schachlitteratur (850-1880) zuſammengeſtellt von Dr. A. v. d. Linde. Berlin, 1881.

Dr. van der Linde's work is ſo complete that, for the moſt part, it has been thought ſufficient to give his name, even when older authorities have been conſulted.

Colonna.

(See *antè*, p. xxviii.)

Ægidius Romanus de regimine principum L. III. ſ. l. 1473. Folio.

This Ebert and Graeſſe conjecture to have been printed by G. Zainer. They deſcribe it as the firſt edition of a work frequently reprinted, and ſay that the laſt edition appeared at Lugd. Batav. in 1643, and had on the title-page the name of St. Thomas Aquinas as author. Hain mentions editions at Rome—Stephanum Plannck, 1482, folio; Venetiis, 1498.

(*French tranſlation.*)

Miroir exemplaire, ſelon la compilation du Gilles de Rome du regime et gouvernement des rois etc. (by Henri de Gauchy or de Gauchay) et avec eſt compris le ſecret de Ariſtote appellé le ſecret des ſecrets, et les noms des rois de France com bien de temps ils ont regné. Paris, 1517. Folio.

(*Graeſſe.*)

This was printed by Guillaum Euſtace: "On les vēt au palais au Tiers pillier Et a la me neufue noſtre dame a lenſeigne de Lagnus dei" (*Brunet*). Ebert mentions a French tranſlation as having been printed at Paris, in 1497; but Brunet, in the article on Ariſtotle, gives a ſomewhat minute account of the book, to ſhow that it is not that of Colonna.

(*Spaniſh tranſlation.*)

Regimiēto de los principes fechs y ordenado par Don fray Gil de Roma de la orden de ſāt Auguſtin. E fizolo traſladar de latin en romāce đo Bernardo obiſpo de oſma etc. Suilla—a eſpenſes de Maeſtre Conrado aleman. & Melchior gurrizo,

mercadores de libros, fue impreſſo per Meynardo Ungut alememo: & Staniſlas Polono compañeros. Acabaron ſe a veynte dias del mes de octubre Año del ſeñor de Mill & quarto cientos & nouenta & quarto [1494] folio.

(*Hain, Brunet, Graeſſe.*)

Ebert notes that there was an edition under the name of Th. Aquino at Madrid, 1625, 4to.

(*Catalan tranſlation.*)

Regiment des Princeps. Barcelona per Meſtre Nicolau Spindaler emprentador. 1480. Folio.

(*Graeſſe.*)

Regiment del Princeps. Barcelona per Johan Luchner. 1498. Fol.

(*Brunet, Graeſſe.*)

(*Italian tranſlation.*)

Ebert mentions an Italian verſion by Val. Averoni. Firenze, 1577. 8vo.

(*Graeſſe.*)

(*Engliſh tranſlation.*)

De regimine Principum, a poem by Thomas Occleve, written in the reign of Henry IV. Edited for the firſt time by Thomas Wright, Eſq., M.A., F.S.A., &c. Printed for the Roxburghe Club. London, J. B. Nichols. 1860. 4to.

(See *antè*, p. xxxii., for notice of another Early Engliſh verſion.)

Cessoles.

(See *antè*, p. xxiv.)

Incipit ſolatiū ludi ſchacor. Scilicz regiminis ac morum nominū et officium viror' nobiliū quor' ſi quis formas menti impreſſerit bellum ipſum et ludi virtutem cordi faciliter poterit optinere. (E)Go frater iacobus de theſſolonia multor' fratrū &c. Ends: Explicit ſolaciū ludi ſchacor'. Folio. 40 leaves.

There is neither date, place, nor printer's name given; but it is conſidered to have been the work of Nic. Ketelaer and Ger. de Leempt, at Utrecht (Ultrajectus), about 1473.

(*Linde, Graeſſe.*)

Incipit libellus de ludo Scaccorum, et de dictis factiſque nobilium virorum, philoſophorum et antiquorum. Explicit tabula ſuper ludum Scacchorum. Deo gratias. 4to. 29 leaves. Sign. A—H.

This is in black letter, and has neither date nor place.

(*Linde.*)

Incipit libelles de ludo Schaccorum. . . . Explicit doctrina vel morum informatio, accepta de modo et ordine Ludi Schaccorum. 4to.

(*Linde.*)

Incipit liber quem compoſuit frater. Jacobus de ceſſolis ordinis fratrū predicatorum qui intitulatur liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium ſuper ludo ſcacorum. Impreſſum Mediolani ad impenſas Paulini de ſuardis Anno a natali chriſtiano.

MCCCCLXXviiij. die xxiij. Menſis auguſti. Folio. 24 leaves.

(*Linde, Graeſſe.*)

Jacobi de Ceſſolis Ord. Praed. Informatio morum, excerpta ex modo et ratione ludi Scacchorum; ſive de moribus hominum officiiſque nobilium et ſuper eo commentarius. Mediolani. 1497. Folio.

(*Linde, Graeſſe.*)

Tractatus de Scachis miſtice interpretatus de moribus per ſingulos hominū ſtatus. 4to. Anno 1505.

On leaf 31^b:—

"Ad Lectorem.
Qum paucis rigidos poſſis compeſcere mons
Accipe : quod offert hiberna ex arce Johannes
Scacherii munus : ſapiens Philometer et illud
Tradidit. ut regis babilonis crimina mergat
Hunc tibi ſi ſoties capiet te lectio frequens
Noveris et iuſte que ius moderamina vite."

No place or date, but ſuppoſed to be printed at Vienna, by Joh. Winterburg.

(*Linde, Graeſſe.*)

Jacobus de Ceſſoles. Von Prof. Dr. Ernſt Köpke, Mittheilungen, aus den Handſchriften der Ritter. Akademie zu Brandenburg. Brandenburg a. d. Havel, 1879, 4to.

(*Linde*, "Jartauſend.")

(*French tranſlation.*)

Les jeu des Echez moraliſé, nouvellement imprimé à Paris (ends). Cy finiſt le livre des Echez et l'Ordre de Chevalerie, tranſlaté de latin en fran-

çois, imprimé nouvellement à Paris; et fut achevé le vendredy, VI^e^ jour de ſeptembre, l'an M V C et IIII, pour Anthoine Verart, libraire juré en l'univerſité de Paris, demourant à Paris, à l'imaige Sainct Jehan l'evangeliſte, devant la rue neufve Noſtre Dame, &c. Folio, 102 leaves.

(*Linde.*)

" On trouve au f. LX un autre traité de Morale et au f. lxxxij celui de *Melibee et de Prudence.* Il y a à la bibl. imp. un exempl. de cette éd. tiré ſur vélin et orné de 4 Miniatures."

(*Graeſſe.*)

Le Jeu de Echets moraliſé . . . Cy finiſt le liure des eſchecz et lordre de cheualerie, tranſlattée de latin en françoys imprimé à Paris: et fut acheué le xiiii iour de nouembre mil cinq cent et cinq. Par Michel le noir libraire . . . demourant deuant Saint Denys de la chartre à limaige noſtre dame. 90 leaves.

(*Linde.*)

On trouve à la fin du *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* le même Dialogue entre Melibée et Prudence ſous le titre: *Ung petit traictie a lenſeignement et au prouffit de tous princes barons & aultres que le vouldront entendre & garder lequel fut fonde & extrait d'une fiction trouvee en eſcript.* Ce qui a induit *Du Verdier* (vol. i. p. 556) en erreur de croire que cette traduction, publiée en 1505, diffère de celle de 1504.

(*Graeſſe.*)

(*Italian tranſlation.*)

Libro di Giuocho di Scacchi intitulato de coſtumi degli huomin et degli officii de nobili. 4to.

" Ohne Angabe des Druckortes und des Jahres. Auſſer dem Titelblattbildchen bringt das Buch dreizehn Abbildungen, welche die von Ceſſoles auf dem Schachbrett ſtatuirten Würden und Gewerke darſtellen."

(*Linde.*)

Libro di givocho di ſcacchi intitulato de coſtumi degl huomini & degli offitii de nobili. (Fol. 2ª:) In comincia un tractato gentile & utile della uirtu del giuocho degli ſcachi cioe intitulato de coſtumi deglhuomini & degli ufitii denobili: compoſto pel Reuerēdo Maeſtro Jacopo daccieſole dellordine de fratri predicatori. Fol. 67ᵇ: Impreſſo in Firēze per Maeſtro Antonio Miſcomini Anno M.CCCCLXXXXIII. Adi primo di Marzo 8vo.

(*Linde.*)

" Cette ed. bien incorrecte quant au texte (comme les reimpreſſions: ſ. l. 1534, in 8vo. [56 ff.] 1 l. 206, Gallarini) eſt recherchée pour ſes belles gravures en bois, dont une partie a été copiée par Dibdin, Aedes Althorp, vol. ii. p. 5-13. Il y a une nouvelle édition: *Mil. tipogr. di Giulio Terrario*, 1829, gr. in 8°, avec des copies de ces mêmes figures et des corrections du texte d'après des de Florence. On a tiré de cette dernière édition 24 exempl. *in carte diſtinte*, 1 ſur peau velin d'Augſbourg et 1 *in capretti di Roma.*"

(*Graeſſe.*)

Opera nvova nella quale ſe inſigna il vero regimento delli huomini & delle dōne di qualunqu grado, ſtato, e condition eſſer ſi voglia: Compoſta per lo Reuerendiſſimo Padre Frate Giacobo da Ceſole del ordine di predicatori ſopra il giuoco delli Scacchi, Intitulata Coſtvme delli hvomini, & vfficii delli nobeli, nuouamente Stampata. M.D. XXXIIII. Stampata in Vineggia per Franſeſco di Aleſſandro Bin doni & Mapheo Paſini compagni: Nelli anni del Signore. 1534. del meſe di Zenaro 8vo. 56 leaves.

(*Linde.*)

Volgarizzamento del libro de' coſtumi e degli officii de' nobili ſopra il giuoco degli ſcacchi di frate Jacopo da Ceſſole tratto nuovamente da un codice Magliabechiano. Milano, 1829. Dalla tipografia del dottore Giulio Ferrario Contrado del Bocchetto al No. 2465 8vo. Pp. xx and 162, and 1 leaf.

(*Linde.*)

Catalan tranſlation.

This does not appear to have been printed. There is a codex in the Vatican and another at Barcelona. They are deſcribed by Linde. See *antè*, p. xxviii.

Spaniſh tranſlation.

Dechado de la vida humana. moralmento Sacado del juego del Axedrez. tradizado agora de nuevo per el licenciado Reyna Vezino della Villa de Aranda de duero. En eſte año M.D.XLIX. 4to. 56 leaves.

Printed at Valladolid by Franciſque Fernandes de Cordoue.

(*Linde.*)

German tranſlation.

ICh bruder Jacob von Caſſalis prediger ordens, bin überwunder worden von der bruder gebet . . . (Ends.) Hie endet ſich das buch menſchlicher ſitten vnd d'ampt der edeln. Folio. 40 leaves.

Without place or year, but printed before the year 1480.

(*Linde.*)

I (Ch) bruder Jacob von Caſſalis prediger ordens bin vberwunden worden vo(n) der brüder gebet wegen vn(d) der weltlichen ſtudenten vn(d) andern edlen leut die mich haben hören predigen das ſpil das do heyſſet ſchachzabel. Das ich davon gemacht hab ditz buch. vn(d) hab das pracht zenutz menſchlichs geſchlechts. Vn(d) hab es geheiſſen das buch menſchlicher ſitten vnnd der ampt der edlen . . . (Ends.) Hie endet ſich das buch menſchlicher ſitten vnd der ampt der edeln 1.4.7.7. Folio. 40 leaves.

This is believed to have been printed with the type of G. Zainer at Augſburg.

(*Linde.*)

(I)Ch bruder Jacob vo(n) Caſſalis prediger ordens bin vberwunden worden von der brüder gebet . . . (Ends.) Hie endet ſich das Buch menſchlicher ſitten vnd der ampt der edlen. Gedruckt zu Augſburg in der Kayſerliche(n)ſtat anno dni MCCCC LXXX IIJ. am oſterabe(n)t geent. Folio. 36 leaves.

(*Linde.*)

Dis buchlein weiſet die auſzlegung des ſchachzabel ſpils, Vnd menſchlicher ſitten, Auch von den ampten der edeln. (Leaf Aii[a])

(I)Ch bruder Jacob vo(n) Caſſalis prediger orde(n)s . . . (Leaf 39[b]) Getruckt vnd volendet von henrico knoblochzern in der hochgelobten ſtat Straſsburg vff Sant Egidius tag In dem LXXX IIJ Jor. &c. Folio. 39 leaves.

(*Linde.*)

Jacobus de Ceſſolis, de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium ac popularium ; oder, Das Schachwerk des Ceſſolis, von den Sitten der Menſchen und den Pflichten der Vornehmen und Niedern. Von Heydebrand v. d. Laſa. (Schachzeitung, 1870.)

(*Linde.*)

(*German rhyming verſion of Conrad von Ammenhauſen.*)

Ueber das Schachzabelbuch Konrads von Ammenhauſen und die Zofinger Handſchrift deſſelben, von Wilhelm Wackernagel (Beiträge zur Geſchichte und Literatur vorzuglich aus den Archiven und Bibliotheken des Kanton Aargau. Herauſgegeben von Dr. Heinrich Kurz . . . und Placid Weiſſenbach. Erſter Band. Aarau 1846.)

Dr. van der Linde gives particulars of various MSS. of this rhyming verſion of Ceſſolis.

(*German rhyming verſion of Dr. Jacob Mennel.*)

Schachzabel. (Ends.) Getruckt vund vollendet in der loblichen ſtatt Coſtentz võ Hanſen ſchäffeler. Vf zinſtag vor ſant Vits tag Anno M. cccc vn vii iar. 4to 13 leaves. Sig. a ii—c ii.

In the prologue Jacob Mennel, doctor, claims the paternity of this rhyming treatiſe, but he is ſuppoſed to have taken much of his material—ready made—from Ammenhauſen.

Schachtzabel Spiel. D Eſz Ritterlichē kunſt lichē Schachtzabel Spiels vnderweygung, erclärung, vn(d) verſtant, wo here das kommen, were das am erften erfunden, vund auſz was vrſach es erdacht ſey, Auch wie man das künſtlich lernen ziehen vn(d) ſpielen ſolle, ſampt etlichē kunſtlichē geteylten ſpielen &c. ☞ Zu dem Schachtzieher.

> " Dein Augen ſcherpff, nicht überſeh
> Dem wyderteyl, fleiſzlich nach ſpeh,
> Wie ſich gebürt, im Feld und Heer,
> Dein volck das ſchich an zu der weer,
> Vnd orden das recht an dem ſtreyt,
> Ders überſicht, gern vnden leyt."

Getruckt zu Oppenheym. 4to.

This ſecond edition was iſſued by Jacob Köbel, who printed about 1520.

(*Linde.*)

DEs Altenn Ritterlichenn ſpils des Schachzabels, grüntlich bedeutung vund klarer bericht, daſſelbig künſtlich zuziehenn vund ſpilen. Mit ein newenn zuſatz ettlicher beſonderen Meiſterſtück, nach der Current, welſchen art, vn(d) von Hutten, deſzgleichen ettlichener beſondern Regeln des Schachziehens, vormals nie auſzgangen. Franckfurt, 1536. 4to.

(*Linde.*)

Vnderweiſzung, erklärung, vund auſzlegung deſz Ritterlichenn, kunſtlichenn ſpielſz des Schachzabels,

durch den Hochgelartenn Doctor Jacob Mennel . . . auff dem heiligen Reichſztag zu Koſtentz, Anno &c. 1507 in Rheimen gedicht, vund deſſelbinn ſpiels Vrſprung vn(d) weſenn, Auch wie man das auff das aller kurtzeſt zu ziehenn vund ſpilen begreiffen mag, offenbart. Frankfurt, 1536, 4to.

This is given on the authority of Maſſmann by Dr. van der Linde.

Das Schachzabelſpiel. Des alten ritterlichen Spiels des Schachzabels' gründlich Bedeutung . . . Frankf. 1536. [Reprint.]

Dr. van der Linde does not ſpeak well of this reprint which appeared in:—Schaltjahr, welches iſt der teutſch Kalendar, durch J. Scheible. Dritter Band. Stuttgart, 1847.

(*German rhyming verſion of Heinrich von Beringen.*)

There is a third rhyming verſion of the Cheſs-book by Heinrich von Beringer, of which a MS., dated 1438, is in the Stuttgart library.

(*Linde.*)

(*Low German rhyming tranſlation by Stephan.*)

Van dogheden vnde van guden zeden ſecht dyt boek wol dat valen ouer leſt de wert ok des ſchack-ſpeles klock. (Lubeck, about 1489.) Small 4to. or large 8vo.

> " Hir gheyt vth ghemaket to dude
> Dat ſchackſpil der eddelen lude
> Des bokes dichter het ſtephan."

(*Linde.*)

(*Dutch Tranſlation.*)

(D)It is die tafel van deſen boeck datmen hiet dat ſcaecſpel (Fol. 2[a]) (H)Ier beghint eē ſuuerlyc boec vanden tytuerdryf edelre heren ende vrouwen. als vandē ſcaec ſpul. daer nochtant een ygherlyck menſche van wat ſtaet dat hi ſi. vele ſcoenre en(de) ſaliger leren wt neme(n) mach . nae welcken hi ſyn leuen ſal regieren tot profyt ende ſalicheyt ſynre ſielen (Fol. 67[b]), ghebruyken Amen In iaer ons heren duſent vierhondert ende neghentſeuentich. opten anderden dach van october. ſoe is dit ghenoechlycke boeck voleynt en(de) Ghemaect ter goude in hollant. by my gheraert leeu. Lof heb god Folio.

(*Linde.*)

Tractat van den Tydverdryf der Edele Heeren ende Vrouwen, genoemt dat ſcaekſpel, verciert met veele ſchoone hiſtorien (Ends:) Int iaer ons heren M.CCCC.LXXXIII. opten veertienden dach van februario: ſo is dat ghenoecklike bock volmaeckt te Delff in hollant. 4to.

(*Linde.*)

Hier beghint een ſuyuerlijck boeck vande(n) tytuerdrijf edelre heere(n) ende vrouwen, als vanden ſcaeck ſpel, daer nochtans een ieghelijck me(n)ſche vā wat ſtaet dz hy ſy, vele ſcoonre en(de) ſaligher leerīghe(n) wt nemen mach, nae welcken hy ſijn leuen ſal regeren tot profijt ende ſalicheyt ſynre ſielen. (Ends.) Gheprint tot Louen in de Borchſtrate in den Lupaert by my Anthonis Maria Bergaigne gheſworen boecprinter. Int iaer ons

Heren. M.cccc. ende LI. den VI. dach van Auguſtus. 8vo. 120 leaves.

(*Linde.*)

(*Scandinavian rhyming tranſlation.*)

De ludo Scacchorum ſeu de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium ac popularium. Poema ſuecanum vetuſtum. e codice manuſcripto biblioth. Reg. Univerſitatis Havn. nunc primum editum. quod conſenſu ampl. ord. phil. Lund. p.p. Erneſtus Rietz et Auguſtus Ludovicus Sjöberg, ſcanus in Academia Carolina die VI Decembris MDCCCXLVIII. Lundae, Typis Berlingianis. MDCCCXLVIII. 8vo.

Fourteen diſſertations, of which there is a ſet in the Jena Library.

There is a MS. of this Scandinavian poetical verſion of Ceſſolis dated 1492, and another dated 1492 in the Kopenhagen Univerſity Library.

(*Linde.*)

(*Engliſh tranſlation.*)

The Game and Playe of the Cheſſe. folio. E. P.

The Game and Playe of the Cheſſe. Explicit per Caxton. folio.

The Game at Cheſſe, a metaphorical Diſcourſe ſhewing the preſent Eſtate of this Kingdome. London. 1643, 4to.

This title is given by Lowndes, but examination only would ſhow whether it is in any way an imitation of Caxton.

The Game of the Cheſſe by William Caxton. [Facſimile reprint of the ſecond edition, with remarks by Vincent Figgins.] London: J. R. Smith, 1855. folio.

The Game of the Cheſſe by William Caxton. Reproduced in facſimile from a copy in the Britiſh Muſeum. With a few remarks on Caxton's Typographical Productions. By Vincent Figgins. London: John Ruſſell Smith. 1860.

The Game of the Cheſſe by William Caxton. A facſimile reproduction of the firſt work printed in England, from the copy in the Britiſh Muſeum. London: Trübner and Co. 1862. fol.

Caxton and the Spelling Reform. [Signed] Iſaac Pitman, Bath, 10th March, 1877. 4to. Pp. 4.

This contains an extract from the "Game of the Cheſs" in four columns:—1. Caxton's ſpelling. 2. The ſuppoſed pronunciation of the ſame repreſented by the Phonetic alphabet. 3. Modern ſpelling. 4. Phonetic ſpelling.

The Game of the Cheſſe: a moral treatiſe on the duties of life. The Firſt Book Printed in England, by William Caxton in the year 1474. Reprinted in Phonetic ſpelling, with a preface and contents in Caxton's orthography, and a fac-ſimile page of the original work. Second edition. London, F. Pitman. Bath, Iſaac Pitman, James Davies. 1872 [1879].

The printing of this book began in 1872, when the title-page and earlier ſheets were worked, but it was not finiſhed until May, 1879. This is the

ſecond time that Mr. Pitman has printed the Cheſs-book in his reformed orthography. The firſt iſſue was in 1855. Although the title-page repeats the old belief that "The Game of Cheſs" was the firſt book printed in England, and gives the date of 1474, it is really a reprint of the ſecond edition of Caxton.

(*Sloane's verſion.*)

The Buke of the Cheſſe. Auchinleck Preſs. 1818. 4to.

This is printed from a MS. which is believed to have been written about the beginning of the ſixteenth century. The work is in verſe, and ends: "Heir endis ye buke of ye Cheſs, Script per manū Jhōis Sloane." Only forty copies were reprinted by Sir Alexander Boſwell at the Auchinleck Preſs.

(*Linde. Lowndes.*)

The "Game and Play of the Cheſs" is an intereſting ſpecimen of mediæval Engliſh literature. It is ſo near our own time that the language preſents few difficulties, in ſpite of its many Galliciſms, and yet it is ſo remote as to ſeem like the echo of an unknown world. The diſtinctly dogmatic portions of the book are but few, and their paucity is indeed a matter of ſome ſurpriſe, ſince it is in effect a detailed treatiſe on practical ethics, and is, in part if not wholly, ſyſtematized from the diſcourſes of one diſtinguiſhed preacher, who had borrowed much of his matter from another eminent eccleſiaſtic. The author aims not at the enforcement of doctrine, but at the guidance of life, though he no doubt aſſumes

that his hearers are all faithful and orthodox ſons of the Church.[1]

The ideal of the commonwealth of the middle ages finds an intereſting expreſſion. The ſharp lines of demarcation between claſs and claſs are ſtated with the frankneſs that comes of a belief that the then exiſting ſocial fabric was the only one poſſible in the beſt of worlds. There is no doubt in the author's mind as to the rightful poſition of king and baron, of biſhop and merchant. The "rights of man" had not been invented, apparently, and the maxim that the king reigns but does not govern, would have perplexed the ſouls of Ceſſoles and his tranſlators. They had no more doubt as to the divine right of the monarch, than the Thibetan has of the divine right of the grand lama. The Buddhiſt thinks he has ſecured the continuous re-appearance of ſupernatural wiſdom in human form, and the regular tranſmiſſion of political ability in the ſame family was the ideal for which the devotees of mediæval deſpotiſm had to hope. Nothing could be further from the aſpirations of our author than a race of mere palace kings ſeeking enjoyment only in ſelf-indulgence. The king was to be the ruler and leader of his people. The relation and inter-dependence of the ſeveral claſſes is emphatically pro-claimed, and the claims of duty are urged upon each.

[1] The fires of purgatory are finely and amply illuſtrated in the ſtory at p. 110, whilſt the power of the ſaints and the value of pilgrimages would be impreſſed upon the hearers by the narrative of the miracles wrought by St. James of Compoſtella (p. 136).

The book enables us to gauge the literary culture of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Poor as it may now ſeem, it belonged, in thoſe days, to the "literature of power," and had great influence. The form is one which lent itſelf readily to poetic and hiſtoric illuſtration, and indeed demanded ſuch treatment. The authors and tranſlators were chiefly learned and diſtinguiſhed eccleſiaſtics. Caxton, the repreſentative of the new time when literature was to be the common heritage, was filled to overflowing with the beſt literature then acceſſible. A writer of the preſent century, probably borrowing his ſentiment, has defined originality to be undetected imitation. Such refinements were unknown to Ceſſoles and his contemporaries. A writer took whatever ſuited his purpoſe from any and every ſource that was open to him. A quotation was always as good as an original ſentiment, and ſometimes much better. Why ſhould a man take the trouble of laboriouſly inventing freſh phraſes about uſury or uncleanneſs when there were the very words of St. Auguſtine or St. Baſil ready to hand? Why ſeek modern inſtances when the great ſtorehouſe of anecdotes of Valerius Maximus was ready to be rifled? Very frequently the author is given, moſtly it may be imagined from a ſenſe of the value of the authority of the names thus cited. Whatever the intention of the writer, the effect is to ſhow us what were the authors known, ſtudied, and quoted in the middle ages.

The authors named are:—Saint Ambroſe (2

references), Anaſtaſius (1), Avicenna (2), Saint Auguſtine (9), Saint Baſil (1), Saint Bernard (2), Boethius (3), Caſſiodorus (1), Cato (5), Cicero (6), Claudian (2), "Crete" (1), Diomedes (1), Florus (1), Galen (1), Helinand (4), Hippocrates (4), Homer (1), Saint Jerome (3), John the Monk (1), Joſephus (4), Livy (2), Lucan (1), Macrobius (1), Martial (1), Ovid (6), Paulus Diaconus (1), Petrus Alphonſus (2), Plato (4), Quintilian (3), Salluſt (1), Seneca (15), Sidrac (1), Solinus (1), Symmachus (1), Theophraſtus (1), "Truphes of the Philoſophers" (2), Turgeius Pompeius (1), Valerius Maximus (23), Valerian (7), Varro (1), Virgil (2), "Vitas Patrum" (2).

It will be ſeen that the great claſſical writers are but poorly repreſented, and the main dependence has been upon the later eſſayiſts, and chiefly upon Valerius Maximus, who has pointed many of the morals enforced in this book. It may, perhaps, be doubted if the writer had more to work from than Valerius, Seneca, and St. Auguſtine, with occaſional quotations ſuch as memory would ſupply from other ſources. The verification of all theſe quotations would not repay the labour it would involve; but in moſt caſes where the experiment has been tried, the reſult has been fairly creditable to the old author.

The biblical alluſions may be taken as typical. There are references to the "bible," "holy ſcripture," "Eccleſiaſtes," and "Canticles." There alſo occur the names of Adam, Eve, Abel, Cain, Noah, Ham, Lot, David, Abner, Joab, Abiſhai, Solomon,

Iſaiah, Evilmerodach, Belſhazzar, Darius, Cyrus, Tobias, John the Baptiſt, and Paul. The citations are not all literally exact. Solomon had not a very good opinion of his fellow-men; but the comprehenſive eſtimate of the number of fools with which he is credited on p. 3 is not to be found in the writings canonically attributed to him. The quotation from the Canticles on p. 25 may be compared with the tranſlation in the Wicliffite verſion made by Nicholas de Hereford, A.D. 1380. This paſſage is rendered: "His left hond is vndur myn heed; and his riȝt hond ſhal biclippe me" ("Song of Solomon," ii. 6). Clip is ſtill current in Lancaſhire, in the ſenſe of embrace.

The extract from St. Paul, with which the prologue to the ſecond edition opens, is no doubt intended for the following paſſage: "All Scripture is given by inſpiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs" (2 Tim. iii. 16).

In the reference to the Athenians (p. 16), we ſeem to hear an echo of the words: "For all the Athenians and ſtrangers that were there ſpent their time in nothing elſe, but either to tell or to hear ſome new thing" (Acts xvii. 21).

The moſt curious reference to a biblical perſonage is that relating to Evilmerodach (p. 10). Ceſſoles ſeems to have been the firſt to aſſociate the name of the ſon of Nebuchadnezzar with the invention of the game of cheſs. The biblical references to Evilmerodach are few; they throw no light on the reaſon of his ſelection by the

mediæval ſcribe for a bad pre-eminence of parricide. The epithet of *joli* applied to the king has an odd effect, followed as it is by the narrative of his moſt unfilial conduct. Dr. Van der Linde ſhows how widely the legend ſpread. Lydgate evidently heſitates between the divided authority of Guido—that is, Colonna, the author of the Troy book—and Ceſſoles, whom he quotes through Jacobus de Vitriaco.[1]

Amongſt the authors not identified are "Crete" (p. 133), and Diomedes (p. 10). The account of the origin of cheſs attributed to the laſt is amplified a little further on. The legend that Palamedes invented a game of this kind at the ſiege of Troy is emphatically rejected by our author, who pins his fame on Xerxes, a Greek philoſopher! This became the received opinion, as may be gathered from the unheſitating language of Polydore Vergil in a paſſage which is thus rendered by John Langley:—"The cheſſe were invented the year of the world 3635, by a certain Wiſe man called Xerxes, to declare to a Tyrant, that Majeſty or Authority without ſtrength, aſſiſtance & help of his ſubjects, was caſual feeble & ſubject to many calamities of fortune; his intent was to break the fierce cruelty of his heart, by fear of ſuch dangers as might come to paſſe in the life of man."[2]

The curious treatiſe which contains the ſuppoſed converſations of King Bocchus and the philoſopher Sidrac (p. 171) was a favourite ſcience book of the

[1] "Hiſt. of Siege of Troye."

[2] "Works of Polidore Virgil." London, 1663, p. 95.

middle ages. It is probably of oriental origin, but there are editions in Latin, French, German, Flemiſh, Dutch, Italian, and Engliſh. By way of queſtion and anſwer very decided ſtatements are made on a wide variety of topics of which the author was profoundly ignorant. The particular part referred to by Ceſſoles is chap. cclxxxi: "Pourquoy ſacoſtent les hommes charnellement aux femmes groſſes et les beſtes ne le font pas?"[1] John the Monk (p. 70) is the noted canoniſt Giovanni Andrea, who died at the plague of Bologna in 1347. His learning gained him ſuch titles as *rabbi doctorum* and *normaque morum*. His commentaries on the decretals were frequently reprinted. He gave the name of "Novellae" to this work after the name of his mother and daughter. His code of morality contained no prohibition of literary theft, for his additions to the "Speculum Juris" of Durand are ſaid to have been taken bodily from Oddrale. In the ſame magnificent manner he appropriated the treatiſe "De Sponſalibus et Matrimonio" of Anguiſſola. His daughter Novella was a learned woman, and became the wife of Giovanni Calderino, a juriſt of Bologna. Their ſon, Gaſpard Calderino, wrote a commentary on the decretals. Father, daughter, ſon-in-law, and grandſon appear to have all been experts in the canon law.[2]

The reference to the "firſt book of the Truphes

[1] Graeſſe: Tréſor, ſ.v. Sydrach. See alſo Warton's "Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry," 1871, vol. ii., p. 144, Hazlitt's "Handbook of Early Engliſh Literature," p. 43.

[2] Hoeffer: "Nouvelle Biographie Univerſelle."

of the Philoſophers by figure" does not convey a very definite idea as to the particular work intended. It muſt have been ſomewhat miſcellaneous in character, for one extract deſcribes the fountain of the ſyrens (p. 122), and the other is an anecdote, which though told here of Julius Cæſar (p. 71), is really the ſtory of the ſoldier who had fought at Actium with Auguſtus Cæſar. It occurs alſo in the "Geſta Romanorum," where the emperor is named Agyos.

"Helmond" (p. 33, &c.) is intended for Helinand, who died ſome time after 1229. After a brilliant period at the court of Philip Auguſtus, where he is repreſented as reciting his heroic verſes before the king and his ſurrounding, he became a monk of the Ciſtercian Abbey of Froidmont. One of his ſurviving poems deals with the melancholy ſubject of death. The "Flores Helinandi" are ſaid to have been popular as well as his "Chronique." He is alſo the reputed author of ſome ſermons, and of the life of St. Gereon, publiſhed by the Bollandiſts, and of other works ſtill inedited. He is ſometimes confounded with another French monk of the ſame name, who lived in the eleventh century, and was an inmate of the monaſtery at Perſigne in Maine. This ſecond Helinand was the author of commentaries or gloſſes on the Apocalypſe and Exodus.[1] The firſt-named has been credited with the authorſhip of "Geſta Romanorum." The grounds for this are very ſlight. "On a longtemps ignoré le nom de l'auteur de cette

[1] Hoeffer, "Nouvelle Biographie Générale," xxxiii. 818.

compilation, mais un paſſage du 68ᵉ dialogue du livre intitulé ‘ Dialogus creaturarum ’ nous le révele par ces mots : *Elimandus in geſtis romanorum.*” [1] But, as Sir F. Madden and Mr. Herrtage have pointed out, the name of “ Geſta Romanorum ” was given to any book treating of Roman affairs. A French tranſlation of Livy, by Robert Gaguin, has been catalogued as a verſion of the “ Geſta.” The reference cited by Brunet is to the Chroniques of Helinand.[2]

Many of the ſtories and anecdotes are the commonplaces of ancient hiſtory, ſuch as the friendſhip of Damon and Pythias, the ſword of Damocles, the chaſtity of Scipio, the magnanimity of Alexander, the fable of the Dog and the Shadow, &c. Others current in the middle ages had great popularity, and even in our own days occaſionally renew their youth. The ſtory of John of Ganazath (p. 48) is to be found in Occleve's tranſlation of Colonna. Mr. Thomas Wright remarks : “ This ſtory, under different forms, was a very common one in the middle ages. One verſion will be found in my ‘ Latin Stories,’ p. 28. It will hardly be neceſſary to remark that the ſtory of King Lear and his daughters is another verſion.” [3]

The ſtory appears alſo in ſome modern compilations. In one inſtance it is given as the will of

[1] Brunet, “ Manuel du Libraire,” ſ. v. Geſta.

[2] “ Geſta Romanorum,” edited by Herrtage. London, 1879, p. vii.

[3] Occleve, “ De Regimine Principum,” p. 199.

Jehan Connaxa, of Antwerp, about 1530.[1] The incident is given in the following form in the popular collection known as the "Percy Anecdotes":[2]—

"An eminent trader at Lyons, who had acquired an eaſy fortune, had two handſome daughters, between whom, on their marriage, he divided all his property, on condition that he ſhould paſs the ſummer with one and the winter with the other. Before the end of the firſt year, he found ſufficient grounds to conclude that he was not a very acceptable gueſt to either; of this, however, he took no notice, but hired a handſome lodging, in which he reſided a few weeks; he then applied to a friend, and told him the truth of the matter, deſiring the gift of two hundred livres, and the loan of fifty thouſand, in ready money, for a few hours. His friend very readily complied with his requeſt; and the next day the old gentleman made a very ſplendid entertainment, to which his daughters and their huſbands were invited. Juſt as dinner was over, his friend came in a great hurry; told him of an unexpected demand upon him, and deſired to know whether he could lend him fifty thouſand livres. The old man told him, without any emotion, that twice as much was at his ſervice, if he wanted it; and going into the next room, brought him the money. After this, he was not ſuffered to ſtay any longer in lodgings; his daughters were jealous if he ſtayed a day more in one houſe than

[1] "Curioſities of Search Room." London, 1880, p. 32.

[2] "Percy Anecdotes: Domeſtic Life," iv. 446.

the other; and after three or four years ſpent with them, he died; when, upon examining his cabinet, inſtead of livres, there was found a note containing theſe words: 'He who has ſuffered by his virtues, has a right to avail himſelf of the vices of thoſe by whom he has been injured; and a father ought never to be ſo fond of his children as to forget what is due to himſelf.'"

Amongſt other verſions of the ſtory is a novelle by Giovanni Brevio, publiſhed as part of his "Rime" in 1545. Piron's comedy of "Les Fils Ingrats," alſo known as "L'Ecole des Pères," appeared in 1728. "The ſtory," adds Dunlop, "is alſo told in the 'Pieuſes Recreations d'Angelin Gazée,' and is told in the 'Colloquia Menſalia' of Luther, among other examples to deter fathers from dividing their property during life among their children—a practice to which they are in general little addicted."[1]

There is yet another verſion of the ſtory in John of Bromyard's "Summa Predicantium." After deſcribing the diſcovery of the club it ſays, "in quo Anglice ſcriptum erat"—

> "Wyht ſuylc a betel be he ſmetyn,
> That al the werld hyt mote wyten,
> That gyfht his ſone al his thing,
> And goht hym ſelf a beggyn."

Mr. Wright gives another verſion, and adds that he is inclined to think that the ſtory and verſes had ſome connection with "a ſuperſtition

[1] Dunlop, "Hiſtory of Fiction," 1876, p. 259.

not yet forgotten, which is thus told by Aubrey in his "Remains of Gentiliſm" (Thom's "Anecdotes and Traditions," p. 84)—"The Holy Mawle, which they fancy was hung behind the church door, which when the father was ſeaventie, the ſonne might fetch to knock his father in the head, as effete and of no more uſe."[1]

Herodotus has attributed the ſame unfilial conduct to ſome Indian tribes.

The incident of St. Bernard playing at dice for a ſoul (p. 151), is in the "Geſta Romanorum." The anecdote how a ſon induced his father to become a monk (p. 81) which is quoted from the "Vitas Patrum" is alſo in the "Geſta Romanorum," and has ſo much of the Buddhiſt flavour as to give riſe to the ſuſpicion that it comes from an Oriental ſource.[2] The ſtory of two merchants quoted from Petrus Alphonſus is alſo in the "Geſta Romanorum." It is the foundation of Lydgate's "Two Friends," and is beyond doubt an Eaſtern importation. In a MS. of the "Speculum Laicorum," deſcribed by Prof. Ingram, the writer has transformed one of the merchants into an Engliſhman.[3]

The ſtory quoted from "Paul, the hiſtoriagraph of the Lombards" (p. 46), is alſo given in the "Geſta Romanorum." Mr. Herrtage ſays it is "evidently founded on the claſſical legend of

[1] "Latin Stories," edited by Thomas Wright. Percy Society, 1842, p. 222.

[2] See "Geſta Romanorum," edit. by Herrtage, p. 364.

[3] "On Two Collections of Mediæval Moralized Tales," by John K. Ingram, LL.D. Dublin, 1882, p. 137.

Tarpeia." The narrative in the chefs-book is taken from Paulus Diaconus.[1]

The ftratagem by which depofited money was recovered from a difhoneft truftee (p. 114) is told by Petrus Alphonfus, and is alfo in the "Geſta Romanorum."

The ftory of the danger of drunkenneſs (p. 129) was a favourite with our forefathers. It is given by John of Bromyard, and is the ſubject of a fabliau which is given by Meon.[2]

The ſomewhat violent remedy recorded as having been adopted by Demoſthenes (p. 103) will remind ſome readers of a paſſage in the life of St. Francis of Aſſiſi. "He had given up," ſays Mrs. Oliphant, "without heſitation, as would appear, all the indefinite ſweetneſs of youthful hopes. But, nevertheleſs, he was ſtill young, ſtill a man, with human inſtincts and wiſhes, the tendereſt nature, and an imagination full of all the warmth and grace of his age and his country. It does not appear that he ever put into words the muſings which caught him unawares—the relics of old dreams or ſoft recollections which now and then would ſteal into his heart. But one night ſuddenly he roſe from the earthen floor which was his bed, and ruſhed out into the night in an acceſs of rage and paſſion and deſpair. A certain brother who was praying in his cell, peering, wondering, through his little window, ſaw him heap together ſeven maſſes of ſnow in the clear moonlight. 'Here is thy wife,' he ſaid to

[1] Muratori: "Rerum Italicarum Scriptores," t. i. p. 465.
[2] Wright, "Latin Stories," p. 235.

himſelf; 'theſe four are thy ſons and daughters, the other two are thy ſervant and thy handmaid; and for all theſe thou art bound to provide. Make haſte, then, and provide clothing for them, leſt they periſh with cold. But if the care of ſo many trouble thee, be thou careful to ſerve our Lord alone.' Bonaventura, who tells the ſtory, goes on, with the true ſpirit of a monkiſh hiſtorian, to ſtate how, 'the tempter being vanquiſhed, departed, and the holy man returned victorious to his cell.' The piteous human yearning that is underneath this wild tale, the ſudden acceſs of ſelf-pity and anger, mixed with a ſtrange attempt, not leſs piteous than the longing, at ſelf-conſolation—all the ſtruggle and conflict of emotion which ſtilled themſelves, at leaſt for a moment, by that ſudden plunge into the ſnow, and wild, violent, bodily exertion, are either loſt upon the teller of the tale, or perhaps he fears to do his maſter injuſtice by revealing any conſciouſneſs of the poſſibility of ſuch thoughts. But it is a very remarkable peculiarity of Francis's hiſtory, that whereas every ſaint in the Calendar, from Antony downwards, is ſometimes troubled with viſions of voluptuous delight, only Francis, in his pure dreams, is tempted by the modeſt joys of wife and children—the moſt legitimate and tendereſt love." [1]

The reader muſt not expect any hiſtorical exactitude or critical ſpirit from our author. For his purpoſe a narrative was juſt as uſeful whether true or falſe, but it probably never occurred to him to

[1] "Francis of Aſſiſi," Mrs. Oliphant. London, 1874, p. 87.

queſtion the exact truth of any ſtatement that he found written in a book. The murder of Seneca (p. 9) is certainly not the leaſt of the many crimes which ſtain the memory of Nero, but the circumſtances of his death are not exactly deſcribed by the mediæval ſcribe. Whether the philoſopher and former tutor was implicated in the conſpiracy of Piſo may be doubted, but ſome ambiguous phraſes he had uſed were reported to the Emperor, whoſe meſſenger demanded an explanation of their meaning. The reply of Seneca was either unſatisfactory or the tyrant had decided to be rid of his former guide. As in more recent times in Japan the condemned man was expected to be his own executioner, and Seneca opened his veins and allowed the life to ooze from them with a ſtoiciſm that was certainly heroic if not untainted by theatrical diſplay. The character of Seneca will ever remain one of the puzzles of hiſtory, for the grave moraliſt was acceſſory to the murder of Agrippina, and not unſuſpected of licentiouſneſs, and of the accumulation of an enormous fortune of three hundred million ſeſtertii by injuſtice and fraud. The ſtatements of Dion Caſſius as to the miſdeeds of the philoſopher muſt be weighed againſt the abſence of any condemnation of his proceedings in the pages of Tacitus.

The Theodore Cerem named on p. 12, is Theodorus Cyrenaicus, who was probably a native of Cyrene, and a diſciple of Ariſtippus. He was baniſhed from the (ſuppoſed) place of his birth, and was ſhielded at Athens by Demetrius Phalerus, whoſe exile he is aſſumed to have ſhared. Whilſt in the

ſervice of Egypt he was ſent as an ambaſſador to Lyſimachus, whom he offended by the directneſs and plainneſs of his ſpeech. The offended monarch threatened him with crucifixion, and he replied in a phraſe which became famous, "Threaten thus your courtiers, for it matters not to me whether I rot on the ground or in the air."[1] The king's threat was not executed, as Theodorus was afterwards at Corinth, and is believed to have died at Cyrene. That he was condemned to drink hemlock is a ſtatement cited from Amphicrates by Diogenes Laertius (*Ariſtippus*, xv.). The anecdote of his colloquy with Lyſimachus would eaſily be perverted into a belief that he had been put to death for the freedom with which he exerciſed his biting wit.

The Democreon mentioned at pp. 12 and 16 is Democritus of Abdera, of whom the anecdote is told. He was a man whoſe knowledge and wiſdom won even the reſpect of Timon, the univerſal ſcoffer. The tradition that he deprived himſelf of ſight with a view to philoſophic abſtraction is mentioned by Cicero, Aulus Gellius, and others, but it is hardly neceſſary to account for a too uncommon calamity by a ſuppoſition ſo remarkable.

The transformations of ſome of the names are peculiar. At p. 12 we read of Defortes. The philoſopher diſguiſed under this ſtrange name appears to be Socrates. The ſtory is told in the Apology of Socrates attributed to Xenophon. The perſon to whom the ſaying was addreſſed was not Xanthippé, but was a diſciple named Apollo-

[1] "Valerius Maximus," vi. 2, 3.

dorus, whoſe underſtanding was not equal to his admiration.

The ſtatement that Didymus voluntarily blinded himſelf is made both by Jerome (*Ep.* 68) and in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Socrates (iv. 29). Didymus was born 309 or 314, and became blind at the age of four, as the reſult of diſeaſe. He learned the alphabet by wooden letters, and by application and force of character became learned in all the learning of his time. Is this a real anticipation of the uſe of raiſed letters for the blind? What would be the uſe of a knowledge of the alphabet ſo acquired in obtaining that ſkill in geometry, rhetoric, arithmetic, and muſic for which he was famous? He owed to Athanaſius his poſition as head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria.

The readers of "Cymbeline" will remember the paſſage in the concluding ſcene:—

> "The piece of tender air, thy virtuous daughter,
> Which we call *mollis aer;* and *mollis aer*
> We term it *mulier;* which mulier, I divine,
> Is this moſt conſtant wife: who even now,
> Anſwering the letter of the oracle,
> Unknown to you unſought, were clipp'd about
> With this moſt tender air."

This quaint piece of etymology will be found at p. 123 of the preſent volume.

There is an intereſting perſonal reference in the following paſſage which has not, it is believed, been pointed out:—

"And alſo hit is to be ſuppoſyd that ſuche as haue theyr goodes comune & not propre is moſt

acceptable to god/ For ellys wold not thiſe religious men as monkes freris chanons obſeruantes & all other auowe hem & kepe the wilfull pouerte that they ben profeſſid too/ For in trouth I haue my ſelf ben conuerſant in a religio⁹ hous of white freris at gaunt Which haue all thynge in comyn amonge them/ and not one richer than an other/ in ſo moche that yf a man gaf to a frere . iii . d or iiii . d to praye for hym in his maſſe/ as ſone as the maſſe is doon he deliuerith hit to his ouereſt or procuratour in whyche hows ben many vertuous and deuoute freris And yf that lyf were not the beſte and the moſt holieſt/ holy church wold neuer ſuffre hit in religion."

This deſcription by the buſy merchant of the "beſt life" might ſerve to point anew the diſtinction between the real and the ideal, and perhaps not to the advantage of the latter.

Nothing has yet been ſaid as to the place of this book in the hiſtory of cheſs, and, indeed, it muſt be confeſſed that it has very little practical bearing on the game. The learned dreams by which the cheſs of to-day was connected with the *latrunculi* and with the amuſement ſaid to have been invented by Palamedes, have been diſſipated by the cool air of modern criticiſm. The ſtudent of the hiſtory of cheſs may now follow its fortunes under the ſafe guidance of Dr. van der Linde, who rejects unheſitatingly the claim made for it, and admitted even by Forbes, of an antiquity of 5,000 years.[1] The

[1] It will be ſufficient here to refer for further details to the following works :—"Geſchichte und Literatur des Schach-

game of chefs, which, whilft remaining an amufement, has acquired the dignity of a fcience, is one that Europe owes to India, where it was probably invented not earlier than five centuries before Chrift; the triumphant progrefs of Iflam aided in the extenfion of this oriental paftime. It was known at the courts of Nicephorus at Conftantinople and his contemporary Haroun-al-Rafhid at Bagdad. One would like to add that Charlemagne alfo was acquainted with it, but there is no good evidence for that legend. It was known in Spain in the tenth century, fince the library of the learned caliph Hakam II. of Cordova contained fome Arabic MSS. on the game. By the middle of the eleventh century it was common in the weftern world. In 1061 a Florentine bifhop is faid to have been ordered by Cardinal Damiani to expiate the offence of playing chefs in public by three recitations of the Pfalter, by wafhing the feet of twelve poor perfons, and by giving them liberal alms. The gradual developments of the game in Europe are illuftrated in detail by Dr. van der Linde. Chefs in its prefent form is comparatively modern, and refults from the enlargement of the powers of the Queen (originally the Vizier or minifter) and of the Bifhop (formerly the Alfil or Elephant). The greater powers of thefe pieces came into play between 1450 and 1500, but the period of tranfition was prolonged to a much later date in fome

fpiels," von Antonius van der Linde, Berlin, 1874, 2 vols.; "Quellenftudien zur Gefchichte des Schachfpiels," von Dr. A. v. d. Linde, Berlin, 1881.

caſes, and the Portugueſe Damiano may be regarded as the founder of the modern ſchool. The player of to-day on conſulting the elementary directions given in this book (p. 159, *et ſeq.*), will ſee how greatly the preſent play exceeds in complexity and ſcientific intereſt the moves that excited the enthuſiaſm of Jacobus de Ceſſoles, and led him to the compoſition of the book of the cheſs which has had ſuch long and wideſpread popularity.

Incidentally his book is a monument in the hiſtory of cheſs, but it was never intended to make its primary object that of teaching the game. The author's aim was almoſt excluſively ethical. It was to win men to a ſober life and to the due performance of individual and ſocial duties, that the preacher exhauſted his ſtores of learning, and invoked alike the reproofs of the fathers of the Church, the hiſtory and legend of chroniclers, pagan and Chriſtian, and the words of prophets and poets. As a memorial of the literature and learning of the middle ages, it muſt always poſſeſs a permanent value. From it we may learn, and always with intereſt, what was the literary taſte and ſocial ideal of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. There is, doubtleſs, ample room for diſſatisfaction with that ideal, but it is not without ſome bright aſpects. Poſſibly there are modern realms that are not any happier now than they would be if governed in ſtrict accordance with the rules laid down by the earneſt author of the game and play of the cheſs.

It only remains for the editor to thank the friends

who have intereſted themſelves in his work. Mr. J. E. Bailey, F.S.A., has ſhown his uſual ſcholarly courteſy and liberality in the communication of books and references. To Mr. R. C. Chriſtie, the Chancellor of the Dioceſe of Mancheſter, a ſimilar acknowledgment is due. Mr. C. W. Sutton, and Mr. W. R. Credland, of the Mancheſter Free Library, on this, as on many other occaſions, have not only given the editor many facilities for his work, but ſome ſuggeſtions by which he truſts he has profited. The index is chiefly the work of the editor's eldeſt daughter.

[DEDICATION.]

*TO the right noble/ right excellent & vertuous prince George duc of Clarence Erle of warwyck and of ſaliſburye/ grete chamberlayn of Englond & leutenant of Irelond oldeſt broder of kynge Edward by the grace of god kynge of England and of frañce/ your moſt humble ſervant william Caxton amonge other of your ſeruantes ſendes unto yow peas. helthe. Joye and victorye upon your Enemyes/ Right highe puyſſant and redoubted prynce/. For as moche as I haue underſtand and knowe/ that ye are enclined unto the comyn wele of the kynge our ſayd ſaueryn lord, his nobles lordes and comyn peple of his noble royame of Englond/ and that ye ſawe gladly the Inhabitants of y^e^ ſame enformed in good. vertuous. prouffitable and honeſte maners. In whiche your noble perſone wyth guydyng of your hows haboundeth/ gyuyng light and enſample unto all other/ Therfore I haue put me in deuour to tranſlate a lityll book late comen in to myn handes out of

* This dedication is omitted in the ſecond edition.

frenſh in to engliſshe/ In which I fynde thauctorites. dictees. and ſtories of auncient Doctours philoſophes poetes and of other wyſe men whiche been recounted & applied unto the moralite of the publique wele as well of the nobles as of the comyn peple after the game and playe of the cheſſe/ whiche booke right puyſſant and redoubtid lord I haue made in the name and under the ſhadewe of your noble protection/ not preſumyng to correcte or enpoigne ony thynge ayenſt your nobleſſe/ . For god be thankyd your excellent renome ſhyneth as well in ſtrange regions as with in the royame of england glorioufly unto your honour and lande/ which god multeplye and encrece But to thentent that other of what eſtate or degre he or they ſtande in may ſee in this ſayd lityll book/ yf they gouerned themſelf as they ought to doo/ wherfor my right dere redoubted lord I requyre & ſupplye your good grace not to deſdaygne to reſſeyue this lityll ſayd book in gree and thanke/ as well of me your humble and unknowen ſeruant as of a better and gretter man than I am/ . For the right good wylle that I haue had to make this lityll werk in the beſt wyſe I can/ ought to be reputed for the fayte and dede/ And for more clerely to procede in this ſayd book I haue ordeyned that the chapitres ben ſette in the begynnynge to thende that ye may ſee more playnly the mater wherof the book treteth &c.

[PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.]

THE holy appoſtle and doctour of the peple ſaynt Poule ſayth in his epyſtle. Alle that is wryten is wryten unto our doctryne and for our lernyng. Wherfore many noble clerkes haue endeuoyred them to wryte and compyle many notable werkys and hiſtoryes to the ende that it myght come to the knowlege and vnderſtondyng of ſuche as ben ygnoraunt. Of which the nombre is infenyte/ And accordyng to the ſame ſaith Salamon. that the nombre of foles. is infenyte/ And emong alle other good werkys. It is a werke of ryght ſpecial recomendacion to enforme· and to late vnderſtonde wyſedom and vertue vnto them that be not lernyd ne can not dyſcerne wyſedom fro folye. Thēne emonge whom there was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the royame of fraunce of the ordre of thoſpytal of Saynt Johns of Jheruſalem which entended the ſame and hath made a book of the cheſſe moralyſed. which at ſuche tyme as J was reſident in brudgys in the counte of Flaundres cam in to my handes/ which whan J had redde and ouerſeen/ ne ſemed ful neceſſarye for to

be had in engliſshe/ And in eſchewyng of ydlenes And to thende that ſõme which haue not ſeen it/ ne vnderſtonde frenſsh ne latyn J delybered in my ſelf to tranſlate it in to our maternal tongue/ And whan I ſo had achyeued the ſayd tranſlacion/ J dyde doo ſette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym/ Whiche anone were depeſshed and ſolde. wherfore by cauſe thys ſayd book is ful of holſom wyſedom and requyſyte vnto euery aſtate and degree/ J haue purpoſed to enprynte it/ ſhewyng therin the figures of ſuche perſons as longen to the playe. Jn whom al aſtates and degrees ben compryſed/ beſechyng al them that this litel werke ſhal ſee/ here/ or rede to haue me for excuſed for the rude & ſymple makyng and reducyn in to our engliſshe/ And where as is defaute to correcte and amende/ and in ſo doyng they ſhal deſerue meryte and thanke/ and I ſhal pray for them/ that god of his grete mercy ſhal rewarde them in his euerlaſtyng bliſſe in heuen/ to the whiche he brynge vs/ that wyth his precious blood redemed vs Amen

[TABLE.]

THIS booke conteyneth . iiii . traytees/ The firſt traytee is of the Invencion of this playe of the cheſſe/ and conteyneth . iii . chapitres

The firſt chapitre is under what kynge this play was founden

The . ii . chapitre/ who fonde this playe

The . iii . chapitre/ treteth of . iii . cauſes why hit was made and founden

The ſecond traytee treteth of the cheſſe men/ and conteyneth . v . chapitres

The firſt chapitre treteth of the form of a kynge and of ſuche thinges as apperteyn to a kynge

The . ii . chapitre treteth of y^e^ quene & her forme & maners

The . iii . chapitre of the forme of the alphins and her offices and maners

The . iiii . chapitre is of the knyght and of his offices

The . v . is of the rooks and of their maners and offices

The thirde traytee is of the offices of the comyn peple And hath . viii . chapitres

The firſt chapitre is of the labourers & tilinge of the erthe

The . ii . of ſmythis and other werkes in yron & metall

*The . iii . is of drapers and makers of cloth & notaries
The . iiii . is of marchantes and chaungers
**The . v . is of phiſicyens and cirugiens and apotecaries
***The . vi . is of tauerners and hoſtelers
****The . vii . is of y^e^ gardes of the citees & tollers & cuſtomers
‡The . viii . is of ribauldes diſepleyars and currours
The . iiii . traytee is of the meuyng and yſſue of them And hath . viii . chapitres
The firſt is of the eſchequer
The ſeconde of the yſſue and progreſſion of the kynge
The thirde of the yſſue of the quene
The fourth is of the yſſue of the alphyns
The fifth is of the yſſue of the knyghtes
The ſixty chapitre of the yſſue of the rooks
The ſeuenth is of the meuynge & yſſue of the comyn peple
And the eyght and laſte chapitre is of the epilegacion.
And of the recapitulacion of all theſe forſaid chapitres.

* Second edit. reads "Thoffyce of notaries/ aduocates ſcriueners and drapers and clothmakers capitulo iii"

** Sec. edit. reads "The forme of phificiens leches ſpycers and appotycaryes"

*** Sec. edit. "Of tauerners hoſtelers & vitaillers"

**** Sec. edit. "Of kepers of townes Receyuers of cuſtum and tollenars"

‡ Sec. edit. "Of meſſagers currours Rybauldes and players at the dyſe"

BOOK I.

This firſt chapiter of the firſt tractate ſheweth under what kynge the play of the cheſſe was founden and maad.:.

AMONGE all the euyll condicions and ſignes that may be in a man the firſt and y^e^ gretteſt is whan he feereth not/ ne dredeth to diſpleſe and make wroth god by ſynne/ and the peple by lyuyng diſordynatly/ whan he reccheth not/ ner taketh hede unto them that repreue hym and his vices/ but fleeth them/ In ſuche wyſe as dide the emperour Nero/ whiche dide do ſlee his maiſter ſeneque For as moche as he might not ſuffre to be repreuid and taught of hym In lyke wyſe was ſomtyme a

kynge in babiloine that was named Evilmerodach a Jolye man with oute Juſtice and ſo cruell that he dyde do hewe his faders body in thre honderd pieces/ And gaf hit to ete and deuour to thre honderd birdes that men calle wultres And was of ſuche condicion as was Nero/ And right well reſemblid and was lyke unto his fader Nabogodonoſor/ whiche on a tyme wold do ſlee alle the ſage and wyſe men of babylonye/. For as moche as they coude not telle hym his dreme that he had dremed on a nyght and had forgoten hit lyke as it is wreton in the bible in the book of danyell/ Under this kynge than Evilmerodach was this game and playe of the cheſſe founden/ Trewe it is that ſome men wene/ that this playe was founden in the tyme of the bataylles & ſiege of troye But that is not ſoo For this playe cam to the playes of the caldees as dyomedes the greek ſayth and reherceth That amonge the philoſophrs was the moſt renomed playe amonge all other playes/ And after that/ cam this playe in the tyme of Alixandre the grete in to Egipte And ſo unto alle the parties toward the ſouth/ And the cauſe wherfore thys playe was ſo renomed ſhall be ſayd in the thirde chapitre.

This ſeconde chapitre of the firſt tractate ſheweth who fonde firſt the playe of the cheſſe.

THYS playe fonde a phyloſopher of Thoryent whiche was named in Caldee Exerſes or in greke philometor/ which is as moche to ſaye in engliſh as he that loveth Juſtice and meſure/ And this philoſopher was renomed gretly amonge the grekes and them of Athenes whiche were good clerkys and philoſophers alſo renomed of theyr connynge This philoſopher was ſo Juſte and trewe that he had leuyr dye/ than to lyue longe and be a fals flaterer wyth the ſayd kynge. For whan he behelde the foull and ſynfull lyf of the kynge/ And

that no man durſt blame hym. For by his grete cruelte he putte them alle to deth that diſpleſid hym/ he put hym ſelf in paryll of deth/ And louyd and chees rather to dye than lenger to lyue: The euyll lyf and diffamed of a kynge is the lyf of a cruell beſte/ And ought not longe to be ſuſteyned/ For he deſtroyeth hym that diſpleſith hym/ And therfore reherceth valerius/ that ther was a wiſe man named theodore cerem whom his kynge dyde do hange on the croſſe for as moche as he repreuyd hym of his euyll & fowll lyf And all way as he was in the torment he ſaid to y^e^ kynge/ upon thy counceyllours & them that ben cladd in thy clothynge & robes were more reſon that this torment ſhold come/ For as moche as they dar not ſaye to the The trouthe for to do Juſtice right wyſly/ of my ſelf I make no force whether I dye on the lande or on the water or otherwyſe &c as who ſayth he recched not to dye for Juſtice/ In lyke wyſe as democreon the philoſophre put out his owen eyen be cauſe he wold not ſee that no good myght come to the euyll and vicyous peple wyth out right And alſo defortes the philoſophre as he went toward his deth/ his wyf that folowed after hym ſaide that he was dampned to deth wrongfully/ than he anſwerd and ſayd to her/ holde thy peas and be ſtyll/ hit is better and more merytorye to dye by a wronge and unrightfull Jugement/ than that I had deſeruyd to dye.

The thirde chapitre of the firſt tractate treteth wherfore the playe was founden and maad.

THE cauſes wherfore this playe was founden ben thre/ the firſt was for to correcte and repreue the kynge .For whan this kynge Evilmerodach ſawe this playe And the barons knyghtes and gentillmen of his court playe wyth the philoſopher/ he meruaylled gretly of the beaulte and nouelte of the playe/ And deſired to playe agaynſt y^e^ philoſopher/ The philoſopher anſwerd and ſayd to hym that hit myght not be doon. But yf he firſt lerned the playe/ The kynge ſaid hit was reſon and that he wold put him to the payne to lerne hit Than the philoſophre

began to teche hym and to ſhewe hym the maner of the table of the cheſſe borde and the cheſſe meyne/ And alſo the maners and condicions of a kynge of the nobles and of the comun peple and of theyr offices and how they ſhold be touchid and drawen. And how he ſhold amende hymſelf & become vertuous And whan this kynge herde that he repreuyd hym/ He demanded hym upon payne of deth to tell hym wherfore he had founden and made this playe/ And he anſwerd my ryght dere lord and kynge/ the gretteſt and moſt thinge that I deſire is that thou haue in thy ſelf a gloryous and vertuous lyf And that may I not ſee/ but yf thou be endoctrined and well manerd and that had/ ſo mayſt thou be belouyd of thy peple Thus than I deſire y^{t} thou haue other gouernement than thou haſt had/ And that thou haue upon thy ſelf firſt ſeygnorye and maiſtrye ſuche as thou haſt upon other by force and not by right Certaynly hit is not ryght that a man be mayſter ouer other and comandour/ whan he can not rewle ner may rewle himſelf and that his vertues domyne aboue his vices/ . For ſeygnourye by force and wylle may not longe endure/ Than thus may thou ſee oon of the cauſes why and wherfore I haue founden and maad thys playe/ whyche Is for to correcte and repent the of thy tyrannye and vicyous lyuynge/ . For alle kynges ſpecyally ought to here her corrygeours or correctours and her corrections to hold and kepe in mynde/ In lyke wyſe as Valerius reherceth that the kynge Alixandre had a noble and renomed knyght that ſayd in repreuynge of Alix-

andre that he was to moche couetous and in eſpecyall of the honours of the world/ And ſayd to hym yf the goddes had maad thy body as greet as is thy herte Alle the world coude not holde the/ . For thou holdeſt in thy right hand alle the Oryent/ And in thy lyfte hande the occident/ ſyn than hit is ſo/ or thou art a god or a man or nought/ yf thou be god doo than well and good to the peple as god doth/ And take not from them that they ought to haue and is theyres. yf thou be a man/ thinke that thou ſhalt dye/ And than thou ſhalt doo noon euyll/ yf thou be nought forgete thy ſelf/ ther is no thynge ſo ſtronge and ferme/ but that ſomtyme a feble thinge caſteth doun and ouerthrowe hit How well that the lyon be the ſtrengeſt beſte/ yet ſomtyme a lityll birde eteth hym/ The ſeconde cauſe wherfore this playe was founden and maad/ was for to kepe hym from ydleneſſe/ whereof ſenecque ſaith unto lucylle ydlenes wyth oute ony ocupacion is ſepulture of a man lyuyng/ and varro ſaith in his ſentences that in lyke wiſe as men goo not for to goo/ the ſame wyſe the lyf is not gyuen for to lyue but for to doo well and good/ And therfore ſecondly the philoſopher fonde this playe for to kepe the peple from ydlenes/ . For there is moche peple. Whan ſo is that they be fortunat in worldly goodes that they drawe them to eaſe and ydlenes wherof cometh ofte tymes many euyllys and grete ſynnes And by this ydlenes the herte is quenchid wherof cometh deſperacion/ The thirde cauſe is that euery man naturelly deſireth to knowe and to here noueltees and tydynges . For this cauſe they

of atthenes ſtudyed as we rede/ and for as the corporall or bodyly ſight enpeſsheth and letteth otherwhyle the knowleche of ſubtyll thinges/ therfore we rede that * democrion the phyloſopher put oute his owen eyen/ for as moche as he myght haue the better entendement and underſtondynge/ Many haue ben made blynde that were grete clerkis in lyke wyſe as was dydymus biſshop of Alixandrye/ that how well that he ſawe not yet he was ſo grete a clerk/ that gregore nazan & ſaynt Ierome that were clerkes and mayſtres to other/ came for to be his ſcolers & lerned of hym And ſaynt Anthonie The grete heremyte cam for to ſee hym on a tyme/ and amonge all other thynges/ he demanded hym yf he were not gretly diſpleſid that he was blynde and ſawe not. And he anſwerd that he was gretly abaſshid for that he ſuppoſid not that he was not diſpleſid in that he had loſt his ſight/ And ſaynt Anthonye anſwerd to hym I meruayle moche that hit diſpleſith the that thou haſt loſt that thynge whiche is comyn betwene the and beſtes. And thou knoweſt well that thou haſt not loſte that thynge that is comyn bitwene the and the angellis And for thiſe cauſes forſayd the philoſopher entended to put away alle penſifnes and thoughtes/ and to thinke only on this playe as ſhall be ſaid & appere in this book after.

* "democrite" in the ſec. edit.

BOOK II.

The ſeconde tractate/ the firſt chapiter treteth of the forme of a kynge of his maners and of his eſtate.

THE kynge muſt be thus maad. For he muſt ſitte in a chayer clothed in purpure/ crowned on his heed in his ryght hand a ceptre and in the lyfte hande an apple of gold/ . For he is the moſt gretteſt and hyeſt in dignyte aboue alle other and moſt worthy. And that is ſignefyed by the corone/ . For the glorye of the peple is the dignite of the kynge/ And aboue all other the kynge ought to be replenyſshid with vertues and of grace/ and thys ſignefieth the purpure. For in lyke wyſe as the robes of purpure maketh fayr & enbelyſshith the

body/ the ſame wiſe vertues maketh the ſowle/ he ought alleway thenke on the gouernement of the Royame and who hath thadmynyſtracion of Juſtice/ And thys ſhuld be by hym ſelf pryncipally. This ſignefieth the appell of gold that he holdeth in his lyfte honde/ And for as moche as hit apperteyneth unto hym to punyſshe the rebelles hath he y^e^ ſceptre in his right hand And for as moche as myſericorde and trouthe conſerue and kepe the kynge in his trone/ Therfore ought a kynge to be mercyfull and debonayr For whan a kynge or prynce deſired or will be belouyd of his peple late hym be gouerned by debonarite And valerius ſaith that debonairte percyth the hertes of ſtraungers and amoliſshith and maketh ſofte the hertes of his enemyes/ wherof he reherceth that philoſtratus that was duc of athenes had a doughter/ whom a man louyd ſo ardantly/ that on a tyme as he ſawe her wyth her moder/ ſodaynly he cam and kyſſed her/ wherof the moder was ſo angry and ſoroufull that ſhe wente and requyred of her lord the duc/ that his heed myght be ſmyten of/ The prynce anſwerd to her and ſayde/ yf we ſhold ſlee them that loue us/ what ſhall we doo to our enemyes that hate us/ Certaynly this was thanſwer of a noble & debonair prynce That ſuffred that villonye don to his doughter and to hymſelf yet more This prince had alſo a frende that was named Ariſpe that ſayd on a tyme as moche villonye unto the prynce as ony man miht ſaye And that might not ſuffiſe hym/ but he ſcracchid hym in the viſage/ The prynce ſuffryd hym paciently in ſuche wyſe as thowh he had doon

to hym no vilonye but curtoyſye And whan his ſones wold haue auengid this vilonye/ he comanded them that they ſhold not be ſo hardy ſo to do The next day folowyng ariſpe remembrid of the right grete vilonye that he had don to his frende and lord wyth oute cauſe. He fyll in diſpayr and wold haue ſlayn hym ſelf/ whan the duc knewe and underſtode that/ he cam to hym and ſayd ne doubte the nothynge And ſwore to hym by his fayth/ that alſo well he was and ſhold be his frende fro than forthon as euery he had ben to fore yf he wold And thus he reſpited hym of his deth by his debonairte. And in lyke wyſe rede we of the kynge pirre to whom was reported that they of tarente had ſaid grete vilonye of hym. For whiche cauſe he maad alle them to come to fore hym And demanded of them yf they had ſo ſayd. Than oon of them anſwerd and ſayd/ yf the wyn and the candellys had not fayllyd/ thys langage had ben but a Iape/ In regarde of that we had thought to haue doon/ Than the kynge began to lawhe/ for they had confeſſid that ſuche langage as was ſayd and ſpoken was by dronkenſhip/ And for this cauſe of debonairte the peple of tarante toke for a cuſtome that the dronken men ſhold be puuyſshyd/ And the ſobre men preyſed. The kynge than thus ought to loue humylyte and hate falſite after the holy ſcripture that ſpeketh of euery man generally/ For the kynge in his royame repreſenteth god/ And god is verite/ And therfore hym ought to ſaye no thynge but yf hit were veritable and ſtable. Valerius reherceth that Alixandre wyth alle his ooſte rood for to de-

ſtroye a cyte whyche was named lapſare/ whan than a phyloſophre whiche had to name Anaximenes which had ben to fore maiſtre & gouernour of Alixandre herd and underſtood of his comyng Cam agayn Alixandre for to deſire and requyre of hym. And whan he ſawe Alixandre he ſuppoſid to haue axid his requeſte/ Alixandre brake his demande to fore and ſwore to hym to fore he axid ony thynge by his goddes. That ſuche thynge as he axid or requyryd of hym/ he wold in no wyſe doon/ Than the philoſopher requyred hym to deſtroye the cyte/ whan Alixandre underſtood his deſire/ and the oth that he had maad/ he ſuffrid the cyte to ſtande and not to be deſtroyed For he had leuer doo his wyll than to be periured and forſworn and doo agaynſt his oth/ Quyntilian ſaith that no grete man ne lord ſhold not ſwere/ but where as is grete nede/ And that the ſymple parole or worde of a prynce ought to be more ſtable than the oth of a marchaũt/ Alas how kepe the prynces their promiſſes in thiſe dayes/ not only her promiſes but their othes her ſealis and wrytynges & ſignes of their propre handes/ alle faylleth god amende hit &c. A kynge alſo ought to hate alle cruelte/ For we rede that neuer yet dyed ony pietous perſone of euyll deth ne cruell perſone of good deth Therfore recounteth valerius that ther was a man named theryle a werke-man in metall/ that made a boole of coppre and a lityll wyket on the ſide/ wherby men myght put in them that ſhuld be brent therin/ And hit was maad in ſuche manere/ that they that ſhold be put and encloſid therin ſhold crye nothinge lyke to the

wys of a man but of an oxe And this made he be cauſe men ſhold haue the laſſe pite of them. Whan he had made this bole of copper/ he preſented hit unto a kynge which was callyd philarde that was ſo cruell a tyrant that he delited in no thinge but in cruelte And he told hym the condicion of the bole/ Whan philarde herde and underſtode this/ he alowed and preyſed moche the werke/ And after ſayde to hym/ thou that art more cruell than I am/ thou ſhalt aſſaye & prove firſt thy pſente and yeft/ And ſo made hym to goo in to the boole and dye an euyll deth/ Therfore ſaith Ouide ther is no thinge more raiſonable than that a man dye of ſuche deth as he purchaſeth unto other Alſo the kynge ought ſouerainly kepe Iuſtice/ who maketh or kepeth a royame with oute Iuſtice/ of verray force ther muſte be grete robberye and thefte Therfor reherceth ſaint Auguſtyn in a book which is intituled the cyte of god/ that there was a theef of the ſee named diomedes that was a grete rouar and dide ſo moche harme that the complaintes cam to fore Alixander whiche dide hym to be taken & brought to fore hym/ and he demanded hym wherfore he was ſo noyous & cruell in the ſee And he anſwerd to hym agayn/ for as moche as thou art oon a lande in the world/ ſo am I another in y^{e} ſee/ but for as moche as the euyll y^{t} I doo is in oon galeye or tweyne therfore I am callyd a theef/ but for as moche as thou doſt in many ſhippis and with grete puyſſance and power/ therfore art thou callyd an emperour/ but yf fortune were for me in ſuche wyſe/ I wold be come a good man and better than

I now am/ but thou/ the more richer and fortunat that thou art/ the more worſe art thou/ Alixander ſayd to hym I ſhall change thy fortune in ſuche wyſe as thou ne ſaye/ that thou ſhalt doo hit by pouerte/ but for euyll and mauaiſte/ And ſo he made hym ryche/ And thys was he that afterward was a good prynce and a good Iuſticyer/ The kynge ought to be ſoueraynly chaſte/ And this ſignefyeth a quene that is only on his ryght ſyde For hit is to be beleuyd and credible that whan the kynge is a good man Iuſte . trewe & of good maners and condicions/ that his children ſhall folowe gladly the ſame/ for a good ſone & a trewe ought not to forſake & goo fro y^e^ good condicions of his fader. For certes hit is agaynſt god and nature in partie whan a man taketh other than his propre wyf/ And that ſee we by birdes/ of whom the male and female haue to gyder the charge in kepynge and noriſshinge of their yonge fowlis and birdis/ . For ſome maner of fowlis kepen them to theyr femeles only/ As hit appereth by ſtorkes dowues and turtils/ But tho fowles that noriſshith not their birdes haue many wyues and femelles/ As the cock that no thynge noriſshith his chekens/ And therfore amonge alle the beſtes that been/ Man and woman putteth moſt theyr entente and haue moſte cure & charge in noriſshyng of their children/ And therfore doon they agaynſt nature in partye whan they leue theyr wyues for other women/ Of this chaſtete reherceth valerius an example and ſaith that ther was a man of rome which was named ſcipio affrican. For as moche as he had conquerd

affricque how well that he was of rome born. Whan he was of .xxxiiii. yer of age he conquerd cartage And toke moche peple in Oſtage/ Amonge whom he was preſented wyth a right fair mayde for his ſolas and playſir whiche was aſſurid and handfaſt unto a noble yong gentillman of cartage whiche was named Indiuicible/ And anon as this gentill ſcipio knewe that Notwythſtandyng that he was a prynce noble & luſty Dyde do calle anon the parents and kynneſmen of them And deliuerid to them their doughter wyth oute doyng of ony vilonye to her/ and y^{e} raenſom or gold that they had ordeyned for their doughter/ gaf hit euery dele In dowaire to her And the yong man that was her huſbonde ſawe the fraunchiſe and gentilnes of hym/ torned hymſelf and the hertes of the noble peple unto the loue & alliance of the romayns/ And this ſuffiſeth as towchynge the kynge &c.

The ſeconde chapitre of the ſeconde book treteth of the forme and maners of the Quene.

THUS ought the Quene be maad/ ſhe ought to be a fair lady ſittynge in a chayer and crowned wyth a corone on her heed and cladd wyth a cloth of gold & a mantyll aboue furrid wyth ermynes And ſhe ſhold ſytte on the lyfte ſyde of the kinge for the amplections and enbraſynge of her huſbonde/ lyke as it is ſayd in ſcripture in the canticles/ her lyfte arme ſhall be under my heed And her ryght arme ſhall* be clyppe and enbrace me/ In that ſhe is ſette on his lyfte ſyde is by grace gyuen to the

* "beclyppe" in ſec. edit.

kynge by nature and of ryght. For better is to haue a kynge by ſucceſſion than by eleccion/ For oftentymes the electours and choſers can not ne wyll not accorde/ And ſo is the election left/ And otherwhyle they cheſe not the beſte and moſt able and conuenyent/ but hym that they beſt loue/ or is for them moſt proffytable/ But whan the kynge is by lignage and by trewe ſucceſſion/ he is taught enſeygned and nourriſhid in his yongth in alle good & vertuous tacches and maners of hys fader/ And alſo the prynces of the royame dar not ſo hardily mene warre agaynſt a kynge hauynge a ſone for to regne after hym And ſo a Quene ought to be chaſte. wyſe. of honeſt peple/ well manerd and not curyous in nouriſshynge of her children/ her wyſedom ought not only tappere in feet and werkes but alſo in ſpekynge that is to wete that ſhe be ſecrete and telle not ſuche thynges as ought to be holden ſecrete/ Wherfore it is a comyn prouerbe that women can kepe no counceyle And accordyng therto Macrobe reherceth in the book of the dremes of Scipio. That ther was a child of rome that was named papirus that on a tyme went with his fader whiche was a ſenatour into the chambre where as they helde their counceyll And that tyme they ſpak of ſuche maters as was comanded and agreed ſhold be kept ſecrete upon payn of their heedes And ſo departed And whan he was comen home from the ſenatoire and fro the counceyll with his fader/ his moder demanded of hym what was the counceyll and wherof they ſpack and had taryed ſo longe there And the childe anſwerd to her and ſayd he durſt not

telle ner ſaye hit for ſo moche as hit was defended upon payn of deth Than was the moder more deſirous to knowe than ſhe was to fore/ And began to flatere hym one tyme And afterward to menace hym that he ſhold ſaye and telle to her what hit was And whan the childe ſawe that he might haue no reſte of his moder in no wiſe He made her firſt promiſe that ſhe ſhold kepe hit ſecrete And to telle hit to none of the world/ And that doon/ he fayned a leſing or a lye and ſayd to her/ that the ſenatours had in counceyll a grete queſtion and difference whiche was this/ whether hit were better and more for the comyn wele of rome/ that a man ſhold have two wyuys/ or a wyf to haue two huſbondes/ And whan ſhe had underſtonde this/ he defended her that ſhe ſhold telle hit to none other body And after this ſhe wente to her goſſyb and told to her this counceyll ſecretly/ And ſhe told to an other/ And thus euery wyf tolde hit to other in ſecrete And thus hit happend anone after that alle the wyues of rome cam to the ſenatorye where the ſenatours were aſſemblid/ And cryed wyth an hye voys/ that they had leuer/ and alſo hit were better for the comyn wele that a wyf ſhold haue two huſbondes than a man two wyues/ The ſenatours heerynge this. were gretly abaſshid and wiſt not what to ſaye/ ner how to anſwere/ tyll at laſte that the child papire reherced to them all the caas and feet how hit was happend And whan the ſenatours herd & underſtood the mater they were gretly abaſshid/ and comended gretly y^e^ Ingenye & wytte of the child that ſo wiſely contriued the lye rather

than he wolde diſcouere their coũceyll/ And forthwith made hym a ſenatour/ and eſtabliſshid & ordeyned fro than forthon that no childe in ony wiſe ſholl entre in to y^e^ counceyll hous amonge them with their faders exept papirus/ whome they wold y^t^ he ſhold alwey be among them/ alſo a quene ought to be chaſte/ for as ſhe is aboue all other in aſtate & reuerẽce ſo ſhold ſhe be enſample to all other in her liuyng honeſtly/ wherof Ierome reherceth agaynſt Ionynyan/ that ther was a gentilman of rome named duele/ and this man was he y^t^ firſt fond y^e^ maner to fight on y^e^ water/ and had firſt victorie/ this duele had to his wif one of the beſt women & ſo chaſte/ that euery woman might take enſample of her/ And at y^t^ tyme the ſynne of the fleſshe was the gretteſt ſynne y^t^ ony might doo agaynſt nature/ And this ſayd good woman was named ylye/ and ſo it happend that this duele becam ſo olde that he ſtowped & quaqued for age And on a tyme one of his aduerſaries repreuyd & reprochid hym ſayng that he had a ſtynkynge breth/ And forthwyth he wente home to his wyf alle angry and abaſshid and axid her why and wherfore ſhe had not told his defaulte to hym that he myght haue founden remedye to haue ben purgid therof/ And ſhe anſwerd that as for as moche as ſhe ſuppoſid that euery man had that ſame faute as well as he. For ſhe kyſt neuer ony mannes mouth but her huſbondes/ O moche was this woman to be preyſed & haue a ſinguler lawde wenynge that this defaulte had not ben only in her huſbonde/ wherfore ſhe ſuffrid hit paciently in ſuche wyſe that her huſbonde

knewe his defaute ſonner by other than by her/ Alſo we rede that ther was a wedowe named anna/ whiche had a frende that counceyllid her to marye/ For ſhe was yong fayr and riche/ to whom ſhe anſwerd that ſhe wold not ſo doo in no wiſe For yf I ſhold haue an huſbond as I haue had and that he were as good as he was/ I ſhold euer ben a ferd to loſe hym/ lyke as I loſt that other/ And than ſhold I lyue all wey in fere & drede/ whiche I wyll not And yf hit happend me to haue awors/ what ſhold hyt prouffite me to haue an euyll huſbond after a good. And ſo ſhe concluded that ſhe wold kepe her chaſtete. Saynt Auſtyn reherceth in the book de Civitate dei that in rome was a noble lady gentill of maners & of hyghe kynrede named lucrecia/ And had an huſbonde named colatyne/ whiche deſired on a tyme the Empours ſone named Torquyne thorguyllous or the proude and he was callid ſixte for to come dyne and ſporte hym in his caſtell or manoir And whan he was entrid amonge many noble ladyes he ſawe lucrecia/ And whan this Empours ſone had ſeen & aduertiſed her deportes. her contenance. her manere. and her beaulte/ he was all rauyſshid and eſpriſed wyth her loue forthwyth And eſpyed a tyme whan her huſbonde collatyn wente unto the ooſte of thempour/ and camm to the place where as lucreſſe was with her felawſhip/ whom ſhe receyuyd honorably/ and whan tyme came to goo to bedde and ſlepe ſhe made redy a bedde ryally for hym as hit apperteyned to the emperours ſone And this ſixtus eſpyed where lucreſia laye. And whan he ſuppoſyd & knewe that euery

body was in his firſt ſleep/ he cam to the bedde of lucreſſe and that oon hand ſette on her breſte and in that other hand a naked ſwerd/ and ſayd to her/ lucreſſe holde thy pees and crye not/ For I am ſixte tarquynus ſone/ for yf y^{u} ſpeke ony worde thou ſhalt be dede/ And for fere ſhe held her pees/ Than he began to praye and promiſe many thinges And after he menaced & thretenyd her that ſhe ſhold enclyne to hym to do his wyll/ And whan he ſawe he coude ner might haue his entent he ſayd to her yf thou do not my wyll/ I ſhall ſlee the and oō̄n of thy ſeruantes and ſhall leye hym all ded by thy ſyde And than I ſhall ſaye that I haue ſlayn yow for your rybawdrye/ And lucreſſe that than doubted more the ſhame of the world than the deth conſentid to hym/ And anone after as the Empours ſone was departid/ the ladye ſente lr̄es to her huſbond her fader her brethern & to her frendes/ and to a man callid brute conceyllour & neuewe to tarquyn/ And ſayd to them/ that yeſterday ſixte the empours ſone cam in to myn hous as an enemye in likenes of a frende/ & hath oppreſſid me And knowe y^{u} colatyn that he hath diſhonorid thy bedde And how well y^{t} he hath fowled & diſhonored my body/ yet myn herte is not/ wherfore I beſeche the of pardon foryfnes & abſolucion of the treſpas but not of the payne/ and he y^{t} hath doon this ſynne to me hit ſhall ben to his meſchance yf ye doo your deuoir/ And be cauſe no woman take enſample of lucreſſe and lyue after the treſpaas/ but that ſhe in lyke wyſe take enſample alſo of the payne And forthwyth wyth a ſwerd that ſhe helde

under her gowen or robe/ ſhe roof her ſelf unto the herte And deyde forthwyth to fore them/ And than brute the counſeillr And her huſbond collatyn and alle her other frendes ſwore by the blood of lucreſſe that they wold neuer reſte vnto the tyme that they had put out of rome tarquyn and and alle his lignee/ And that neuer after none of them ſhold come to dignite/ And alle this was doon. For they bare the dede corps thurgh the cyte and meuyd the peple in ſuche wyſe/ that tarquyn was put in exyle And ſixte his ſone was ſlayn/ A Quene ought to be well manerd & amonge alle ſhe ought to be tumerous and ſhamefaſt/ For whan a woman hath loſte ſhamefaſtnes/ ſhe may ner can not well be chaaſt/ Wherfore ſaith ſymachus that they that ben not ſhamefaſt haue no conſcience of luxurye/ And ſaynt Ambroſe ſaith that oon of the beſt parements and maketh a woman moſt fayr in her perſone/ is to be ſhamefaſt/ Senecque reherceth that ther was oon named Archezille whiche was ſo ſhamefaſt That ſhe put in a pelow of fethers a certain ſome of money/ and put hit vnder y^{e} heed of a pour frende of heeris/ whiche diſſimyled his pouerte and wold not. ner durſt not be a knowen of his pouerte For for ſhame ſhe durſt not gyue hit openly/ but had leuer that he ſhold fynde hit/ than that ſhe had gyuen hit hym/ Wherfore otherwhile men ſhold gyue & helpe her frendes ſo ſecretly That they knowe not whens hit come/ For whan we kepe hit ſecret and make no booſt therof/ our deedes and werkes ſhall pleſe god and them alſo/ A Quene ought to be choſen whan ſhe ſhall be wedded of the

moſt honeſt kynrede and peple/ For oftentymes the doughters folowen the tacches and maners of them that they ben diſcended from/ Wherof Valerius maximus ſayth that ther was one that wold marye/ whiche cam to a philoſopher and axid counceyll what wif he might beſt take He anſwerd that he ſhold take her that thou knowe certaynly that her moder and her grauntdame haue ben chaaſt and well condicioned/ For ſuche moder/ ſuche doughter comunely/ Alſo a quene ought to teche her childern to ben contynent and kepe chaſtite entyerly/ as hit is wreton in eccleſiaſtes/ yf thou haue ſones enſeigne and teche them/ And yf thou haue doughters kepe well them in chaſtite/ For helemonde reherceth that euery kynge & prynce ought to be a clerke for to comande to other to ſtudye and rede the lawe of our lord god/ And therfore wrote themperour to the kynge of france that he ſhold doo lerne hys children ſones the ſeuen ſciences lyberall/ And ſaide amonge other thynges that a kynge not lettryd reſembleth an aſſe coroned/ Themperour Octauian maad his ſones to be taught and lerne to ſwyme. to ſprynge and lepe. to Iuſte. to playe wyth the axe and ſwerde/ And alle maner thynge that apperteyneth to a knyght/ And his doughters he made hem to lerne. to ſewe. to ſpynne. to laboure as well in wolle as in lynnen cloth/ And alle other werkis longynge to women And whan his frendes demanded wherfore he dyde ſo/ he anſwerd how well that he was lord & ſyre of alle the world/ yet wyſte he not what ſhold befalle of his children and whether they ſhold falle or come to pouerte or noo/

and therfore yf they conne a good crafte they maye alleway lyue honeſtly/ The Quene ought to kepe her doughters in alle chaſtyte/ For we rede of many maydens that for theyr virginite haue ben made quenes/ For poule the hiſtoriagraph of the lombardes reherceth y^{t} ther was a ducheſſe named remonde whiche had .iii. ſones & two doughters And hit happend that the kynge of hongrye cantanus aſſaylled a caſtell where ſhe behelde her enemyes And amonge all other ſhe ſawe the kynge that he was a well faryng and goodly man/ Anone ſhe was eſpriſed and taken wyth his loue/ And that ſo ſore/ that forthwith ſhe ſent to hym that ſhe wold deliuere ouer the caſtell to hym yf he wold take her to his wyf and wedde her And he agreed therto/ and ſware that he wold haue her to his wyf on that condicion/ whan than the kynge was in the caſtell/ his peple toke men and women and alle that they fonde/ her ſones fledde from her/ of whom one was named Ermoaldus and was yongeſt/ and after was duc of boneuentan/ And ſyn kynge of the lumbardis. And the two ſuſters toke chikens And put hem vnder her armes next the fleſsh and bytwene her pappes/ that of the heete & chaffyng the fleſsh of the chikens ſtanke. And whan ſo was that they of hongrye wold haue enforcid & defowled hem anone they felte the ſtenche and fledde away and ſo lefte hem ſayng/ fy how theſe lombardes ſtynke/ and ſo they kept their virginite/ wherfore that one of them afterward was Quene of france And that other Quene of Aleman/ And hit happend than that the kynge Catanus toke acordynge to his promyſe the

ducheſſe/ and laye with her one night for to ſaue his oth And on the morn he made her comune unto alle the hongres/ And the thirde day after he dyde doo put a ſtaf of tre fro the nether part of her/ thurgh her body vnto her throte or mouthe/ for be cauſe of the luſt of her fleſsh ſhe betrayed her cyte and ſayd ſuche huſbond/ ſuche wyf &c And this ſufficeth of the Quene.

The thirde chapitre of the ſeconde tractate treteth of the alphyns her offices and maners.

THE Alphyns ought to be made and formed in manere of Iuges ſyttynge in a chayer wyth a book open to fore their eyen/ And that is be cauſe that ſome cauſes ben crymynell/ And ſome ben cyuyle as aboute poſſeſſyons and other temporell thynges and treſpaces/ And therfore ought to be two Iuges in the royame/ one in the black for the firſt cauſe/ And that other in whyte as for the ſeconde/ Theyr office is for to counceyll the kynge/ And to make by his comandements good lawes And to enforme alle the royame in good and vertuous maners/ And to Iuge and gyue ſentence well and truly after the

caas is had/ And to counceyll well and Iuſtely alle them that are counceyll of hem/ wyth oute hauynge of ony eye opene to ony perſone/ And to eſtudye diligently in ſuche wyſe and to ordeygne alle that/ that ought to be kept be obſeruyd be faſte and ſtable/ So that they be not founde corrupt for yeft for favour ne for lignage ne for enuye variable And as touchynge the firſt poynt Seneque ſayth in the book of benefetes that the poure Dyogenes was more ſtronge than Alixandre/ For Alixandre coude not gyue ſo moche as Diogenes wold reffuſe.

Marcus curſus a romayn of grete renome ſayth thus. That whan he had beſiegid & aſſayllyd them of ſamente And boneuentans whiche herde that he was poure/ they toke a grete maſſe and wegghe of gold and ſended hit to hym prayng hym that he wold reſſeyue hyt and leue his aſſault and ſiege/ And whan they cam with the preſent to hym they fonde hym ſittynge on the erthe and eté his mete oute of platers and diſshes of tree and of wode and dyde than her meſſage/ to whom he anſwerd and ſayde that they ſhold goo hoome and ſaye to them that ſente hem that marcus curſus loueth better to be lord and wynne richeſſes than richeſſes ſhold wynne hym/ For by bataylle he ſhall not be ouercome and vaynquyſshid Nor be gold ne ſiluer he ſhal not be corrupt ne corompid Often tymes that thynge taketh an euyll ende that is vntrewe for gold and ſiluer/ And that a man is ſubgett vnto money may not be lord therof/ helimond reherceth that * demonſcene demanded of ariſtodone how moche

* "demoſtene" in ſec. edit.

he had wonne for pletynge of a cauſe for his clyent/ And he anſwerd a marck of gold/ ** Demoſcenes anſwerd to hym agayn that he had wonne as moche for to hold his pees and ſpeke not Thus the tonges of aduocates and men of lawe ben pyllous and domegeable/ yet they muſt be had yf thou wylt wynne thy cauſe for wyth money and yeft thou ſhall wynne And oftetymes they ſelle as welle theyr ſcilence/ as theyr vtterance/ Valerius reherceth that the ſenatours of rome toke counceyll to geder of two perſones that one was poure/ And that other riche and couetous/ whiche of hem bothe were moſt apte for to ſende to gouerne and Iuge the contre of ſpayne/ and ſcipion of affricque ſayd that none of them bothe were good ner prouffitable to be ſente theder/ For that one hath no thynge And to that other may nothynge ſuffiſe And deſpiſed in his ſaynge alle pouerte and auerice in a Iuge/ For a couetous man hath nede of an halfpeny For he is ſeruant & bonde vnto money/ and not lord therof. But pouerte of herte & of wylle ought to be gretly alowed in a Iuge Therfore we rede that as longe as the romayns louyd pouerte they were lordes of all the world For many ther were that expoſed alle their goodes for the comyn wele and for that was moſt prouffitable for the comynaulte that they were ſo poure that whan they were dede they were buryed & brought to erthe with the comyn good/ And theyr doughters were maryed by the comandement of the ſenatours/ But ſyn that they deſpiſed pouerte/ And begonne to gadre rycheſſes/ And haue maad grete bataylles/

** "demoſtenes" in ſec. edit.

they haue vſed many ſynnes And ſo the comyn wele peryſshid/ For there is no ſynne but that it regneth there/ Ther is none that is ſo * ſynfull as he that hath alle the world in deſpyte/ For he is in pees that dredeth no man/ And he is ryche that coueyteth no thynge/ Valere reherceth that he is not ryche that moche hath/ But he is ryche that hath lytyll and coueyteth no thynge/ Than thus late the Iuges take hede that they enclyne not for loue or for hate in ony Iugement/ For theophraſt ſaith that alle loue is blynde ther loue is/ ther can not ryght Iugement by guyen/ For alle loue is blynde And therfore loue is none euyn Iuge For ofte tymes loue Iugeth a fowll & lothly woman to be fayr And ſo reherceth quynte curſe in his firſt book that the grete Godaches ſayth the ſame to Alixandre men may ſaye in this caas that nature is euyll For euery man is laſſe auyſed and worſe in is owne feet and cauſe than in an other mans/ And therfore the Iuges ought to kepe hem well from yre in Iugement/ Tullius ſayth that an angry & yrous ꝑſone weneth that for to doo euyll/ is good counceyll/ and ſocrates ſaith y^{t} . ii . thinges ben contraryous to coũceyll/ and they ben haſtynes & wrath/ and Galeren ſayth in Alexandrye/ yf yre or wrath ouercome the whan thou ſholdeſt gyue Iugement/ weye all thinge in y^{e} balance ſo that thy Iugement be not enclyned by loue ne by yefte/ ne fauour of perſone torne not thy corage. Helemond reherceth that Cambyſes kynge of perſe whiche was a rightwys kynge had an

* "blisful" in the ſec. edit.—The reading of the firſt edition is evidently a miſprint.

vnrightwys Iuge/ whiche for enuye and euyll will had dampned a man wrongfully and agaynſt right/ wherfore he dide hym to be ſlain all quyk/ and made the chayer or ſiege of Iugement to be couerid wyth his ſkyn/ And made his ſone Iuge and to ſitte in the chayer on the ſkyn of his fader/ to thende that the ſone ſhold Iuge rightwyſly/ And abhorre the Iugement & payne of his fader/ Iuges ought to punyſshe the defaultes egally And fullfille the lawe that they ordeyne/ Caton ſayth accompliſshe and do the lawe in ſuche wyſe as thou haſt ordeyned and gyuen. Valerius reherceth that calengius a conſull had a ſone whiche was taken in adwultrye. And therfore after the lawe at that tyme he was dampned to loſe bothe his eyen The fader wold y^{t} the lawe ſhold be accōpliſshid in his ſone with out fauour/ but all the cyte was meuyd herewyth And wold not ſuffre hit/ but in the ende his fader was vayn-quyſshid by theyr prayers/ And ordeyned that his ſone ſhold leſe oon eye whiche was put oute And he hymſelf loſt an other eye/ And thus was the lawe obſerued and kept/ And the prayer of the peple was accompliſshid We rede y^{t} ther was a counceyllour of rome that had gyen counceill to make a ſtatute/ that who ſome euer that entrid in to the ſenatoire/ & a ſwerd gyrt aboute hym ſhold be ded/ Than hit happend on a tyme that he cam from with out and entrid in to the ſenatoyre & his ſwerd gyrt aboute hym/ wherof he took nōn heede/ and ōn of the ſenatours told hym of hit/ and whan he knewe hit & remembrid the ſtatute/ he drewe oute his ſwerd & ſlewe hymſelf to fore them/ rather to dye

than to breke the lawe/ for whos deth all the ſenatours made grete ſorowe/ but alas we fynde not many in thiſe dayes that ſoo doo/ but they doo lyke as anaſtaſius ſaith that the lawes of ſome ben lyke vnto the nettis of ſpyncoppis that take no grete beſtes & fowles but lete goo & flee thurgh. But they take flyes & gnattes & ſuche ſmale thynges/ In lyke wiſe the lawes now a dayes ben not executed but vpon the poure peple/ the grete and riche breke hit & goo thurgh with all And for this cauſe ſourden bataylles & diſcordes/ and make y^e^ grete & riche men to take by force and ſtrengthe lordſhippis & ſeignouries vpon the ſmale & poure peple/ And this doon they ſpecially that ben gentill of lignage & poure of goodes And cauſeth them to robbe and reue And yet cõſtrayned them by force to ſerue them And this is no meruayll/ for they that drede not to angre god/ ner to breke the lawe and to falſe hit/ Falle often tymes by force in moche curſednes and wikkidnes/ but whan y^e^ grete peple doo acordinge to y^e^ lawe/ and punyſh the trāſgreſſours ſharply The comyn peple abſtayne and withdrawe hem fro dooyng of euyll/ and chaſtiſeth hem ſelf by theyr example/ And the Iuges ought to entende for to ſtudie/ for y^t^ yf ſmythes the carpētiers y^e^ vignours and other craftymen ſaye that it is moſt neceſſarye to ſtudye for the comyn prouffit And gloryfye them in their connyng and ſaye that they ben prouffitable Than ſhold the Iuges ſtudie and contemplaire moche more than they in that/ that ſhold be for the comyn wele/ wherfore ſayth ſeneke beleue me that they ſeme that they do no thynge they doo more than they

that laboure For they doo ſpirytuell and alſo corporall werkis/ and therfore amonge Artificers ther is no pleſant reſte/ But that reſon of the Iuges hath maad and ordeyned hit/ And therfore angelius in libro actiui atticatorum de ſocrate ſayth That ſocrates was on a tyme ſo penſyf that in an hole naturell daye/ He helde one eſtate that he ne meuyd mouth ne eye ne foote ne hand but was as he had ben ded rauyſshyd. And whan one demanded hym wherfore he was ſo penſyf/ he anſwerd in alle worldly thynges and labours of the ſame And helde hym bourgoys and cytezeyn of the world And valerius reherceth that carnardes a knyght was ſo ſage wyſe and laborous in penſifnes of the comyn wele/ that whan he was ſette at table for to ete/ he forgate to put his hande vnto the mete to fede hymſelf. And therfore his wyf y^{t} was named mellyſe whom he had taken more to haue her companye & felawſhip than for ony other thynge/ Fedde hym to thende that he ſhold not dye for honger in his penſifnes/ Dydymus ſayd to Alixandrie we ben not deynſeyns in the world but ſtraũgers/ ner we ben not born in the world for to dwell and abyde allway therein/ but for to goo and paſſe thurgh hit/ we haue doon noon euyll dede/ but that it is worthy to be punyſshid and we to ſuffre payne therfore And than we may goon with opon face and good conſcience And ſo may we goo lightly and appertly the way that we hope and purpoſe to goo This ſuffiſeth as for the Alphyns.

The fourth chapitre of the ſeconde book treteth of the ordre of cheualerye and knyghthode and of her offices and maners.

THE knyght ought to be made alle armed upon an hors in ſuche wyſe that he haue an helme on his heed and a ſpere in his ryght hande/ and coueryd wyth his ſheld/ a ſwerde and a mace on his lyft ſyde/ Cladd wyth an hawberk and plates to fore his breſte/ legge harnoys on his legges/. Spores on his heelis on his handes his gauntelettes/ his hors well broken and taught and apte to bataylle and couerid with his armes/ whan the knyghtes ben maad they ben bayned or bathed/ that is the ſigne that they

ſhold lede a newe lyf and newe maners/ alſo they wake alle the nyght in prayers and oryſons vnto god that he wylle gyue hem grace that they may gete that thynge that they may not gete by nature/ The kynge or prynce gyrdeth a boute them a ſwerde in ſigne/ that they ſhold abyde and kepe hym of whom they take theyr diſpenſes and dignyte. Alſo a knyght ought to be wiſe. liberall. trewe. ſtronge and full of mercy and pite and kepar of the peple and of the lawe/ And ryght as cheualrye paſſeth other in vertu in dignite in honour and in reuerēce/ right ſo ought he to ſurmounte alle other in vertu/ For honour is no thing ellis but to do reuerēce to an other pſone for y^e^ good & vertuo^9^ diſpoſicion y^t^ is in hym/ A noble knyght ought to be wyſe and preuyd to fore he be made knyght/ hit behoued hym that he had longe tyme vſid the warre and armes/ that he may be expert and wyſe for to gouerne the other For ſyn that a knyght is capitayn of a batayll The lyf of them that ſhall be vnder hym lyeth in his hand And therfore behoueth hym to be wyſe and well aduyſed/ for ſome tyme arte craft and engyue is more worth than ſtrengthe or hardynes of a man that is not proued in Armes/ For otherwhyle hit happeth that whan the prynce of the batayll affieth and truſteth in his hardynes and ſtrength And wole not vſe wyſedom and engyne for to renne vpon his enemyes/ he is vaynquyſhid and his peple ſlayn/ Therfore ſaith the philoſopher that no man ſhold cheſe yong peple to be captayns & gouernours For as moche as ther is no certainte in her wyſedom. Alexandre of

macedone vaynquyſhid and conquerid Egypte Iude Caldee Affricque/ and Aſſirye vnto the marches of bragmans more by the counceyll of olde men than by the ſtrength of the yong men/ we rede in the hiſtorye of rome y^t^ ther was a knyght whiche had to name malechete that was ſo wyſe and trewe that whan the Empour Theodoſius was dede/ he made mortall warre ayenſt his broder germain whiche was named Gildo or Guye For as moche as this ſaid guye wold be lorde of affricque with oute leue and wyll of the ſenatours. And this ſayd guye had ſlayn the two ſones of his broder malechete/ And dide moche torment vnto the criſten peple And afore that he ſhold come in to the felde ayenſt his broder Emyon/ he wente in to an yle of capayre And ladde with hym alle the criſten men that had ben ſente theder in Exyle And made hem alle to praye wyth hym by the ſpace of thre dayes & thre nyghtis/ For he had grete truſte in the prayers of good folk/ & ſpecially that noman myght counceyll ne helpe but god/ and .iii. dayes to fore he ſhold fight ſaynt Ambroſe whiche was ded a lityl to fore apperid to hym/ and ſhewde hym by reuelacion the tyme & our that he ſhold haue victorie/ and for as moche as he had ben .iii. dayes and .iii nyghtes in his prayers & that he was aſſewrid for to haue victorie/ He faught with .v. thouſand men ayenſt his broder y^t^ had in his companye .xxiiii. thouſand men And by goddes helpe he had victorie And whan the barbaryns y^t^ were comen to helpe guion ſawe y^e^ diſconfiture they fledde away/ and guion fledd alſo in to affricque by ſhipp/ and whan he was

ther arryued he was ſone after ſtranglid/ Theſe .ii. knyghtes of whom I ſpeke were two bredern germayns/ whiche were ſent to affricque for to defende the comyn weele/ In likewiſe Iudas machabe⁹ Ionathas & ſymon his bredern put hem ſelf in the mercy and garde of our lord god And agayn the enemyes of the lawe of god with lityll peple in regard of the multitude that were agayn them/ and had alſo victorye/ The knights ought to ben trewe to theyr princes/ for he that is not trewe leſeth y^e^ name of a knight Vnto a prince trouth is the gretteſt precious ſtone whan it is medlid with Iuſtice/ Paule the hiſtoriagraph of the lombardes reherceth that ther was a knight named enulphus and was of the cyte of papye that was ſo trewe to his kynge named patharich/ that he put hym in parill of deth for hym/ For hit happend that Grymald Duc of *buuentayns of whom we haue touched to fore in the chapitre of the Quene/ Dyde do ſlee Godebert whiche was kynge of the lombardes by the hande of Goribert duc of Tauryn/ whiche was diſcended of the crowne of lombardis And this grimald was maad kynge of lombardis in his place/ and after this put & bannyſshid out of the contrey this patharych whiche was broder vnto the kynge Godebert/ that for fere and drede fledd in to hongrye/ And than this knyght Enulphus dide ſo moche that he gate the peas agayn of his lord patharich agaynſt the kynge grymalde/ and that he had licence to come out of hongrye where he was all wey in paryll. and ſo he cam and cryed hym

* Sec. edit. "buncuentayns."

mercy And the kynge grymalde gaf hym leue to dwelle and to lyue honeſtly in his contree/ allway forſeen that he toke not vpon hym and named hymſelf kynge/ how well he was kynge by right This doon a litill while after/ the kynge that beleuyd euyll tonges/ thought in hymſelf how he myght brynge this patharich vnto the deth And alle this knewe well the knyght enulphus/ whiche cam the ſame nyght with his ſquyer for to viſite his lord And made his ſquyer to vnclothe hym & to lye in the bedde of his lord And made his lord to ryſe and clothe hym wyth the clothis of his ſquyer/ And in this wyſe brought hym oute/ brawlynge and betynge hym as his ſeruant by them that were aſſigned to kepe the hows of patharik y^{t} he ſhold not eſcape Whiche ſuppoſid that hit had ben his ſquyer that he entretid ſo outragiouſly/ & ſo he brought hym to his hous whiche Ioyned with the walles of the toun/ And at mydnyght whan alle men were aſleepe/ he lete a doun his maiſtre by a corde/ whiche toke an hors oute of the paſture And fled vnto the cyte of Aaſt and ther cam to the kynge of fraunce/ And whan hit cam vnto the morn. Hit was founden that Arnolphus and his ſquyer had deceyvyd the kynge and the wacchemen/ whom the kyng comanded ſhold be brought to fore hym And demanded of them the maner how he was eſcaped And they told hym the trouthe/ Than the kynge demanded his counceyll of what deth they had deſeruyd to dye that had ſo doon and wrought agayn the wylle of hym/ Some ſayde that they ſhold ben honged/ and ſome ſayd they ſhold ben flayn And

other ſayd that they ſhold be beheedid. Than ſayd the kynge by that lord that made me/ they ben not worthy to dye/ but for to haue moche worſhip and honour/ For they haue ben trewe to theyr lord/ wherfore the kynge gaf hem a grete lawde and honour for their feet And after hit happend that the propre ſquyer and ſeruant of godeberd ſlewe the traytre Goribalde that by trayſon had ſlayn his lord at a feſte of ſeynt Iohn in his Cyte of Tauryn wherof he was lord and duc/ Thus ought the knyghtes to love to gyder/ And eche to put his lyf in aventure for other/ For ſo ben they the ſtrenger And the more doubted/ Lyke as were the noble knyghtes Ioab and Abyſay that fought agaynſt the ſyryens and Amonytes/ And were ſo trewe that oon to that other that they vaynquyſshid theyr enemies And were ſo Ioyned to gyder that yf the ſiryens were ſtrenger than that one of them/ that other helpe hym/ we rede that damon and phiſias were ſo ryght parfyt frendes to gyder that whan Dioniſius whiche was kynge of cecylle had Iuged one to deth for his treſpaas in the cyte of ſyracuſane whom he wold haue executed/ he deſired grace and leue to goo in to hys contre for to diſpoſe and ordonne his teſtament/ And his felawe pleggid hym and was ſewrte for hym vpon his heed that he ſhold come agayn. Wherof they that ſawe & herd this/ helde hym for a fool and blamed hym/ And he ſaid all way that he repentid hym nothynge at all/ For he knewe well the trouth of his felawe And whan the day cam and the oure that execuſion ſhold be doon/ his felawe cam and preſented hymſelf to fore the Iuge/

And diſchargid his felawe that was plegge for hym/ wherof the kynge was gretly abaſshid And for the grete trouthe that was founden in hym He pardonyd hym and prayd hem bothe that they wold reſſeyue hym as their grete frende and felawe/ Lo here the vertues of loue that a man ought nought to doubte the deth for his frende/ Lo what it is to doo for a frende/ And to lede a lyf debonayr And to be wyth out cruelte/ to loue and not to hate/ whiche cauſeth to doo good ayenſt euyll And to torne payne into benefete and to quenche cruelte Anthonyus ſayth that Julius Ceſar/ lefte not lightly frenſhippe and Amytye/ But whan he had hit he reteyned hit faſte and maynteyned hit alleway/ Scipion of Affricque ſayth that ther is no thynge ſo ſtronge/ as for to mayntene loue vnto the deth The loue of concupiſcence and of lecherye is ſone diſſoluyd and broken/ But the verray true loue of the comyn wele and prouffit now a dayes is ſelde founden/ where ſhall thou fynde a man in thyſe dayes that wyll expoſe hymſelf for the worſhippe and honour of his frende/ or for the comyn wele/ ſelde or neuer ſhall he be founden/ Alſo the knyghtes ſhold be large & liberall For whan a knyght hath regarde vnto his ſinguler prouffit by his couetyſe/ he diſpoylleth his peple For whan the ſouldyours ſee that they putte hem in paryll. And theyr mayſter wyll not paye hem theyr wages liberally/ but entendeth to his owne propre gayn and prouffyt/ than whan the Enemyes come they torne ſone her backes and flee oftentymes/ And thus hit happeth by hym that entendeth more to

gete money than victorye that his auaryce is ofte tymes cauſe of his confuſion Than late euery knyght take heede to be liberall in ſuche wyſe that he wene not ne ſuppoſe that his ſcarcete be to hym a grete wynnynge or gayn/ And for thys cauſe he be the laſſe louyd of his peple/ And that his aduerſarye wythdrawe to hym them by large gyuynge/ For oftetyme bataylle is auaunced more for getynge of ſiluer. Than by the force and ſtrengthe of men/ For men ſee alle daye that ſuche thynges as may not be achieuyd by force of nature/ ben goten and achieuyd by force of money/ And for ſo moche hit behoueth to ſee well to that whan the tyme of the bataylle cometh/ that he borowe not ne make no tayllage/ For noman may be ryche that leuyth his owne/ hopyng to gete and take of other/ Than all waye all her gayn and wynnynge ought to be comyn amonge them exept theyr Armes. For in lyke wyſe as the victorie is comune/ ſo ſhold the diſpoyll and botye be comune vnto them And therfore Dauid that gentyll knyght in the fyrſt book of kynges in the laſt chapitre made a lawe/ that he that abode behynde by maladye or ſekenes in the tentes ſhold haue as moche parte of the butyn as he that had be in the bataylle/ And for the loue of thys lawe he was made afterward kynge of Iſraell/ Alexander of Macedone cam on a tyme lyke a ſymple knyght vnto the court of Porus kynge of Inde for to eſpye theſtate of the kynge and of the knyghtes of the court/ And the kynge reſſeyuyd hym ryght worſhipfully/ And demanded of hym many thynges of Alexander and of his con-

ſtance and ſtrengthe/ nothynge wenynge that he had ben Alexander But antygone one of his knyghtis and after he had hym to dyner And whan they had ſeruyd Alexander in vayſſell of gold and ſiluer with dyuerce metes &c. After that he had eten ſuche as pleſid hym he voyded the mete and toke the vayſſell and helde hit to hymſelf and put hit in his boſom or ſleuys/ wherof he was accuſid vnto the kynge After dyner than the kynge callid hym and demanded hym wherfore he had taken his vayſſell And he anſwerd/ Syre kynge my lord I pray the to vnderſtande and take heede thy ſelf and alſo thy knyghtes/ I haue herd moche of thy grete hyenes And y^{t} thou art more myghty and puyſſant in cheualrye & in diſpenſis than is Alexander/ and therfore I am come to the a pour knyght whiche am named Antygone for to ſerue the/ Than hit is the cuſtome in the Courte of Alexandre/ that what thynge a knyght is ſeruyd wyth all is alle his/ mete and vayſſell and cuppe And therfore I had ſuppoſid that this cuſtome had ben kept in thy court for thou art richer than he/ whan the knyghtes herd this/ anōn they lefte porus/ and wente for to ſerue alixandre/ and thus he drewe to hym y^{e} hertes of them by yeftes/ whiche afterward ſlewe Porus that was kynge of Inde/ And they made Alexandre kynge therof Therfore remembre knyght alleway that wyth a cloſid and ſhette purſe ſhalt thou neuer haue victorye. Ouyde ſayth that he that taketh yeftes/ he is glad therwyth/ For they wynne wyth yeftes the hertes of the goddes and of men For yf Iupiter were angrid/ wyth

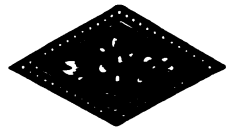
yeftes he wold be plefid/ The knyghtes ought to be ftronge not only of body but alfo in corage. Ther ben many ftronge and grete of body/ that ben faynt and feble in the herte/ he is ftronge that may not be vaynquyfshid and ouercomen/ how well that he fuffryth moche otherwhile/ And fo we beleue that they that be not ouer grete ne ouer lityll ben moft corageous & befte in batayll. We rede that cadrus duc of athenes fhold haue a batayll agayn them of polipe/ And he was warned and had a reuelacion of the goddes/ that they fhold haue the victorie of whom the prynce fhold be flayn in the batayll/ And the prince whiche was of a grete corage and trewe herte Toke other armes of a poure man/ And put hymfelf in the fronte of the batayll to thende that he might be flain And fo he was/ for the right trewe prince had leuer dye Than his peple fhold be ouercomen/ And fo they had the victorye/ Certes hyt was a noble and fayr thynge to expofe hym felf to the deth for to deffende his contrey. But no man wold doo fo/ but yf he hopyd to haue a better thynge therfore/ Therfore the lawe fayth that they lyue in her fowles gloriouſly that ben flain in the warre for the comyn wele A knyght ought alfo to be mercifull and pyetous For ther is nothynge y^{t} maketh a knyght fo renomed as is whan he fauyth the lyf of them that he may flee/ For to fhede and fpylle blood is the condicion of a wylde befte and not the condicion of a good knyght Therfore we rede that fcylla that was Duc of the Romayns wyth oute had many fayr victoyres agaynft the Romayns wyth Inne that were con-

trayre to hym/ In ſo moche that in the batayll of puylle he ſlewe .xviii. thouſand men/ And in champanye . lxx . thouſand. And after in the cyte he ſlewe thre thouſand men vnarmed And whan one of his knyghtes that was named Quyntus catulus ſawe this cruelte ſayd to hym/ Seſſe now and ſuffre them to lyue and be mercyfull to them wyth whom we haue ben victorious And wyth whom we ought to lyue/ For hit is the moſt hyeft and fayr vengeance that a man may doo/ as to ſpare them & gyue hem her lyf whome he may ſlee Therfore Joab ordeyned whan abſalon was ſlayn/ he ſowned a trompette/ that his peple ſhold no more renne & ſlee theyr aduerſaryes. For ther were ſlayn aboute . xx . thouſand of them/ and in lyke wyſe dide he whan he faught ayenſt Abner And Abner was vaynquyſhid and fledde. For where that he wente in the chaas he comanded to ſpare the peple The knyghtes ought to kepe the peple/ For whan the peple ben in theyr tentes or caſtellis/ the knyghtes ought to kepe the wacche/ For this cauſe the romayns callyd them legyons And they were made of dyuerce prouynces and of dyuerce nacyons to thentente to kepe the peple/ And the peple ſhold entende to theyre werke/ For no crafty man may bothe entende to his craft & to fighte/ how may a crafty man entende to hys werke ſewrely in tyme of warre but yf he be kept And right in ſuche wyſe as the knyghtes ſhold kepe y^{e} peple in tyme of peas in lyke wiſe the peple ought to pourveye for theyr diſpensis/ how ſhold a plowman be ſewre in the felde/ but yf the knyghtes made dayly wacche to kepe

hem/ For lyke as the glorye of a kynge is vpon his knyghtis/ ſo hit is neceſſarye to the knyghtes that the marchantis craftymen and comyn peple be defended and kepte/ therfore late the knyghtes kepe the peple in ſuche wyſe that they maye enioye pees and gete and gadre the coſtis and expenſis of them bothe/ we rede that Athis ſayd to dauid whiche was a knyght/ I make the my kepar and defendar alleway. Thus ſhold the knightes haue grete zele that the lawe be kept/ For the mageſte ryall ought not only to be garnyſshid wyth armes but alſo wyth good lawes/ And therfore ſhold they laboure that they ſhold be well kept Turgeus pompeyus reherceth of a noble knyght named Ligurgyus that had made auncyent lawes the whiche the peple wold not kepe ne obſerue/ For they ſemed hard for them to kepe And wold conſtrayne hym to rapele & ſette hem a part whan the noble knight ſawe that He dyde the peple to vnderſtande that he had not made them/ but a god that was named Apollo delphynus had made them/ And had comanded hym that he ſhold do the peple kepe them/ Thiſe wordes auayled not/ they wold in no wyſe kepe them/ And than he sayd to them that hit were good that er the ſaid lawes ſhold be broken that he had gyuen to them that he ſhold goo and ſpeke wyth the god Appollo/ For to gete of hym a diſpenſacion to breke hem/ And that the peple ſhold kepe & obſerue them tyll that he retorned agayn/ The peple acorded therto & ſwore that they ſhold kepe them to the tyme he retorned Than the knighte wente in to grece in exyle & dwellid ther alle his lyf/ And whan he

ſhold dye he comanded that his body ſhold be caſt in the ſee/ For as moche as yf his body ſhold be born theder/ the people ſhold wene to be quyt of theyr oth/ And ſhold kepe no lenger his lawes that were ſo good & reſonable/ & ſo the knight had leuer to forſake his owne contre & to dye ſo than to repele his lawes And his lawes were ſuche/ The firſt lawe was that y^e^ peple ſhold obeye & ſerue the princes/ And the princes ſhold kepe the peple & do Iuſtice on the malefactours The ſecond lawe that they ſhold be all ſobre/ For he wiſte well that the labour of cheualrye is moſt ſtronge whan they lyue ſobrely/ The thirde was y^t^ noman ſhold bye ony thynge for money but they ſhold change ware for ware & one marchandyſe for an other/ The fourthe was that men ſhold ſette no more by money ner kepe hit more than they wold donge or fylthe/ The fyfthe he ordeyned for the comyn wele alle thynge by ordre/ that the prynces myght meue and make bataylle by her power. to the maiſtres counceillours he comyſid the Iugementis. And the Annuell rentes/ to the ſenatours the kepynge of the lawe/ And to the comyn peple he gaf power to cheſe ſuche Iuges as they wold haue/ The ſixte he ordeyned that all thinge ſhold be departid egally & all thinge ſhold be comyn And none richer than other in patrymonye/ The ſeuenth that euery man ſhold ete lyke well in comen openly/ that riches ſhold not be cauſe of luxurye whan they ete ſecretly/ The eygthe that the yonge peple ſhold not haue but ōn gowne or garment in the yere/ The nynth that men ſhold

ſette poure children to laboure in the felde/ to thende that they ſhold not enploye theyr yongthe in playes and in folye/ but in labour/ The tenthe that the maydens ſhold be maryed wythoute dowayre/ In ſuche wyſe that no man ſhold take a wyf for moneye/ The xi. that men ſhold rather take a wyf for her good maners and vertues than for her richeſſes/ The twelfthe that men ſhold worſhippe the olde and auncyent men for theyr age and more for theyr wyſedom than for her riches this knyght made none of thyſe lawes/ but he firſt kepte hem.



The fyfthe chapitre of the ſecond book of the forme and maners of the rooks.

THE rooks whiche ben vicaires and legats of the kynge ought to be made lyke a knyght vpon an hors and a mantell and hood furryd with meneuyer holdynge a ſtaf in his hande/ & for as moche as a kyng may not be in alle places of his royame/ Therfore the auctorite of hym is gyuen to the rooks/ whiche repreſent the kynge/ And for as moche as a royame is grete and large/ and that rebellion or nouelletes might ſourdre and aryſe in oon partye or other/ therfore ther ben two rooks one on the right ſide and that other on the lifte ſide

They ought to haue in hem. pyte. Iuſtice. humylite. wilfull pouerte. and liberalite/ Fyrſt Iuſtice for hit is moſt fayr of the vertues/ For it happeth oftetyme that the miniſtris by theyr pryde and orgueyll ſubuerte Iuſtice and do no ryght/ Wherfore the kynges otherwhyle loſe theyr royames with out theyr culpe or gylte/ For an vntrewe Iuge or officyer maketh hys lord to be named vnIuſte and euyll And contrarye wyſe a trewe myneſtre of the lawe and ryghtwys/ cauſeth the kynge to be reputed Iuſte and trewe/ The Romayns therfore made good lawes/ And wolde that/ that they ſholde be Iuſte and trewe/ And they that eſtabliſshid them for to gouerne the peple/ wold in no wyſe breke them/ but kepe them for to dye for them/ For the auncyent and wyſe men ſayd comynly that it was not good to make and ordeygne that lawe that is not Iuſte Wherof Valerius reherceth that ther was a man that was named Themiſtides whiche cam to the counceyllours of athenes and ſayd that he knewe a counceyll whiche was ryght prouffytable for them/ But he wolde telle hyt but to But to one of them whom that they wold/ And they aſſigned to hym a wyſe man named Ariſtides/ And whan he had vnderſtand hym he cam agayn to the other of the counceyll And ſayd that the counceyll of Themyſtides was well prouffitable/ but hit was not Iuſte/ how be hit ye may reuolue hit in your mynde/ And the counceyll that he ſayd was this/ that ther were comen two grete ſhippis fro lacedome and were arryued in theyr londe. And that hit were good to take them/ And whan the

counceyll herde hym that ſayde/ that hit was not Iuſte ner right/ they lefte hem alle in pees And wold not haue adoo with alle/ The vicarye or Iuge of the kynge ought to be ſo Iuſte/ that he ſhold employe alle his entente to ſaue the comyn wele And yf hit were nede to put his lyf and/ loſe hit therfore/ we haue an enſample of marcus regulus wherof Tullius reherceth in the book of offices And ſaynt Auguſtyn alſo de ciuitate dei/ how he faught agayn them of cartage by ſee in ſhippis and was vaynquyſshid and taken/ Than hit happend that they of cartage ſente hymm in her meſſage to rome for to haue theyr priſoners there/ for them y^{t} were taken/ and ſo to chaũge one for an other And made hym ſwere and promyſe to come agayn/ And ſo he cam to rome And made propoſicion tofore the ſenate And demanded them of cartage of the ſenatours to be chaũged as afore is ſayd And than the ſenatours demanded hym what counceyll he gaf Certayn ſayd he I coũceyll yow that ye do hit not in no wiſe For as moche as the peple of rome that they of cartage holde in priſon of youris ben olde men and bruſid in the warre as I am my ſelf/ But they that ye holde in priſon of their peple is alle the flour of alle their folke/ whiche counceyll they toke/ And than his frendes wolde haue holde hym and counceyllyd hym to abide there and not retorne agayn pryſoner in to cartage/ but he wold neuer doo ſo ner abide/ but wold goo agayn and kepe his oth How well that he knewe that he went toward his deth For he had leuyr dye than to breke his oth Valeri^{9} re-

herceth in the fixth book of one Emelye duc of the romayns/ that in the tyme whan he had affieged the phaliftes/ The fcole mayftre of the children deceyuyd the children of the gentilmen that he drewe hym a lityll and a lytyll vnto the tentys of the romayns by fayr fpeche. And fayd to the duc Emelie/ that by the moyan of the children that he had brought to hym/ he fhold haue the cyte/ For theyr faders were lordes and gouernours. Whan Emelie had herde hym he fayd thus to hym Thou that art euyll and cruell And thou that woldeft gyue a gyfte of grete felonnye and of mauuaftye/ thou fhalt ner haft not founden here Duc ne peple that refembleth the/ we haue alfo well lawes to kepe in batayll & warre As in our contres & other places/ and we wole obferue and kepe them vnto euery man as they ought to be kept And we ben armed agaynft our enemyes y^{t} wole defende them And not ayenft them y^{t} can not faue their lyf whan their contre is taken/ as thife lityll children/ Thou haft vaynquyfshid them as moche as is in the by thy newe deceyuable falfenes and by fubtilnes and not by armes/ but I that am a romayn fhall vainquyfshe them by craft and ftrengthe of armes/ And anon he comanded to take the faid fcole maifter/ And to bynde his handes behynde hym as a traytour and lede hem to the parentis of the children And whan the faders & parentis fawe the grete courtofie that he had don to them They opend the yates and yelded them vnto hym/ we rede that hanyball had taken a prince of rome whiche vpon his oth and promyfe fuffrid hym to

gon home/ and to ſende hym his raunſon/ or he ſhold come agayn within a certain tyme And whan he was at home in his place/ he ſayde that he had deceyuyd hym by a falſe oth And whan the ſenatours knewe therof/ they conſtrayned hym to retorne agayn vnto hanyball/ Amos florus tellyth that the phiſicien of kynge pirrus cam on a nyght to fabrice his aduerſarye And promyſid hym yf he wold gyue hym for his laboure that he wold enpoyſone pirrus his maiſter/ whan fabricius vnderſtode this He dyde to take hym and bynde hym hande & foote/ and ſente hym to his maiſtre and dyde do ſaye to hym word for worde lyke as the phyſicien had ſayd and promyſid hym to doo/ And whan pirrus vnderſtode this he was gretly ameruaylled of the loyalte and trouth of fabrice his enemye/ and ſayd certaynly that the ſonne myghte lighther and ſonner be enpeſshid of his cours/ than fabrice ſhold be letted to holde loyalte and trouthe/ yf they than that were not criſten were ſo Iuſte and trewe and louyd their contrey and their good renomee/ what ſhold we now doon than that ben criſten and that oure lawe is ſette alle vpon loue and charyte/ But now a dayes ther is nothynge ellys in the world but barate Treſon deceyte falſenes and trecherye Men kepe not theyr couenantes promyſes. othes. writynges. ne trouthe/ The ſubgettis rebelle agayn theyr lorde/ ther is now no lawe kepte. nor fidelite/ ne oth holden/ the peple murmure and ryſe agayn theyr lord and wole not be ſubget/ they ought to be pietous in herte/ whiche is auaillable to all thinge ther is pite in effecte by

compaſſion/ and in worde by remiſſion and pardon/ by almeſſe/ for to enclyne hymſelf to the poure For pite is nothynge ellis but a right grete will of a debonaire herte for to helpe alle men/ Valerius reherceth that ther was a Iuge named ſangis whiche dampned a woman that had deſeruyd the deth for to haue her heed ſmyten of or ellis that ſhe ſhold dye in priſon/ The Geayler that had pite on the woman put not her anone to deth but put her in the pryſon/ And this woman had a doughter whiche cam for to ſe and conforte her moder But allway er ſhe entryd into the pryſon the Iayler ſerchid her that ſhe ſhold bere no mete ne drynke to her moder/ but that ſhe ſhold dye for honger/ Than hit happend after this that he meruaylled moche why this woman deyd not/ And began to eſpye the cauſe why ſhe lyuyd ſo longe/ And fonde at laſte how her doughter gaf ſouke to her moder/ And fedde her with her melke. whan the Iayler ſawe this meruaill/ he wente & told the Iuge/ And whan the Iuge ſawe this grete pite of the doughter to the moder he pardoned her and made her to be delyuerid oute of her pryſon what is that/ that pite ne amoliſshith/ moche peple wene that it is agaynſt nature and wondre that the doughter ſhold gyue the moder to ſouke/ hit were agayn nature but the children ſhold be kynde to fader and moder/ Seneca ſayth that the kynge of bees hath no prykke to ſtynge with as other bees haue. And that nature hath take hit away from hym be cauſe he ſhold haue none armes to aſſaylle them And this is an example vnto prynces that they ſhold be of the ſame

condicion/ Valerius reherceth in his .v. book of marchus martellus that whan he had taken the cyte of ſiracuſane. And was ſette in the hyeſt place of the cyte/ he behelde the grete deſtruction of the peple and of the cyte/ he wepte and ſayde/ thou oughteſt to be ſorofull/ for ſo moche as thou woldeſt haue no pite of thy ſelf/ But enioye the for thou art fallen in the hande of a right debonaire prynce. Alſo he recounteth whan pompeye had conqueryd the kynge of Germanye that often tymes had foughten ayenſt the romayns And that he was brought to fore hym bounden/ he was ſo pietous that he wold not ſuffre hym to be longe on his knees to fore hym/ but he receyuyd hym cortoyſly And ſette the crowne agayn on his heed and put hym in theſtate that he was to fore/ For he had oppynyon that hit was as worſhipfull and fittynge to a kynge to pardone/ as to punyſshe. Alſo he reherceth of a coũceyllour that was named poule that dide do brynge to fore hym a man that was priſonner And as he knelid to fore hym he toke hym vp fro the ground & made hym to ſytte beſide hym for to gyue hym good eſperance and hoope And ſayd to the other ſtondynge by/ in this wyſe. yf hit be grete nobleſſe that we ſhewe our ſelf contrarye to our enemyes/ than this fete ought to be alowed that we ſhew our ſelf debonair to our caytyfs & priſonners Ceſar whan he herde the deth of cathon whiche was his aduerſarye ſayde that he had grete enuye of his glorye. And no thinge of his patrimonye/ and therfore he lefte to his children frely all his patrimonye Thus

taught vyrgyle and enſeygned the gloryus prynces to rewle and gouerne the peple of rome And ſaynt Auguſtin de ciuitate dei ſaith thus Thou emperour gouerne the peple pietouſly And make peas ouerall/ deporte and forbere thy ſubgets/ repreue & correcte the prowde/ for ſo enſeyne And teche the the lawes/ And hit was wreton vnto Alexander/ that euery prynce ought to be pyetous in punyſshynge/ and redy for to rewarde/ Ther is no thynge that cauſeth a prynce to be ſo belouyd of hys peple/ As whan he ſpeketh to hem ſwetly/ and coũerſith with hem ſymply/ And all this cometh of the roote of pyte/ we rede of the Emperour Traian that his frendes repreuyd hym of that he was to moche pryue and familier wyth the comyn peple more than an emperour ought to be/ And he anſwerd that he wold be ſuche an emperour as euery man defired to haue hym/ Alſo we rede of Alixander that on a tyme he ladde his ooſt forth haſtely/ and in that haſte he beheld where ſatte an olde knight that was ſore acolde Whom he dide do ariſe and ſette hym in his owne ſete or ſiege/ what wondre was hit though y^e^ knightes deſired to ſerue ſuche a lord that louyd better theyr helth than his dignite/ The rookes ought alſo to be humble & meke After the holy ſcripture whiche ſaith/ the gretter or in the hier aſtate that thou arte/ ſo moche more oughteſt thou be meker & more humble Valerius reherceth in his .vii. book that ther was an emperour named publius ceſar/ That dide do bete doun his hows whiche was in the middis of y^e^ market place for as moche as hit was heier than

other houſes/ for as moche as he was more glorious in aſtate than other/ Therfore wold he haue a laſſe hous than other And ſcipion of affrique that was ſo poure of volūtarie pouerte y^{t} whan he was dede/ he was buried at y^{e} diſpencis of y^{e} comyn good/ They ſhold be ſo humble y^{t} they ſhold leue theyr offices/ and ſuffre other to take hem whan her tyme comyth/ & doo honour to other/ for he gouerneth wel y^{e} royame y^{t} may gouerne hit whan he will Valeri^{9} ſaith In his thirde book that fabyan the grete had ben maiſtre counceyllour of his fader his grauntfire/ And of his grauntfirs fader & of alle his anteceſſours And yet dide he alle his payne and labour/ that his ſone ſhold neuer haue that office after hym/ but for nothynge that he myſtruſted his ſone/ For he was noble and wiſe and more attemprid than other/ but he wold that the office ſhold not all way reſte in the familye and hows of the fabyans Alſo he reherceth in his ſeuenth book that they wold make the ſayd fabyan empour/ but he excuſed hym and ſayd that he was blynde and myght not ſee for age/ but that excuſacion myght not helpe hym/ Than ſayd he to hem/ ſeke ye and gete yow another/ For yf ye make me your empour I may not ſuffre your maners/ nor ye may not ſuffre myn/ Ther was a kynge of ſo ſubtyll engyne That whan men brought hym the crowne/ to fore that he toke hit/ he remembrid hym a lityll and ſaide/ O thou crowne that art more noble than happy For yf a kynge knewe well and parfaytly how that thou art full of paryls of thoughte and of charge/ yf thou were on the grounde/ he wolde

neuer lyfte ner take the vp/ Remembre the that whan thou art moſt gloryous/ than haue ſome men moſte enuye on the/ and whan thou haſte moſte ſeignourye and lordſhips than ſhalt thou haue moſte care. thought and anguyſshes/ Vaſpaſian was ſo humble that whan Nero was ſlayn alle the peple cryed for to haue hym empour/ and many of his frendes cam & prayde hym that he wold take hit vpon hym/ ſo at the laſt he was conſtrayned to take hit vpon hym And ſayd to his frendes Hit is better and more to preyſe and alowe for a man to take thempire agaynſt his wil/ than for to laboure to haue hit and to put hym ſelf therin/ Thus ought they to be humble and meke for to reſſeyue worſhip/ Therfore ſayth the bible that Ioab the ſone of Saryne that was captayn of the warre of the kynge Dauid/ whan he cam to take and wynne a Cyte/ He ſente to Dauid and defired hym to come to the warre/ that the victorye ſhold be gyuen to Dauid/ And not to hym ſelf/ Alſo they ought to be ware that they chaunge not ofte tymes her officers/ Joſephus reherceth that the frendes of tyberyus meruaylled moche why he helde hys offycyers ſo longe in theyr offices wyth oute changynge/ And they demanded of hym the cauſe/ to whom he anſwerd/ I wold chaunge them gladly/ yf I wyſte that hit ſhold be good for the peple/ But I ſawe on a tyme a man that was roynyous & full of ſoores/ And many flyes ſatte vpon the ſoores and ſouked his blood that hit was meruaylle to ſee/ wherfore I ſmote and chaced them away. And he than ſaid to me why chaceſt and ſmyteſt away thyſe flyes

that ben full of my blood/ And now ſhallt thou late come other that ben hongrye whiche ſhall doon to me double payne more than the other dide/ for the prikke of the hongrye is more poyngnant the half/ than of y^e^ fulle And therfore ſayde he I leue the officiers in their offices. for they ben all riche/ and doo not ſo moch euyl & harme As the newe ſhold doo & were poure yf I ſhold ſette hem in her places/ They ought alſo to be pacyent in herynge of wordes & in ſuffrynge payne on her bodyes/ as to the firſt One ſaid to aliſander that he was not worthy to regne. ſpecially whan he ſuffrid that lecherie and delyte to haue ſeignoire in hym/ he ſuffrid hit paciently/ And anſwerd none otherwyſe but that he wolde correttе hym ſelf. And take better maners and more honeſte Alſo hit is reherced that Iulius cezar was ballyd wherof he had deſplayſir ſo grete that he kempt his heeris that laye on the after parte of his heed forward for to hyde the bare to fore. Than ſayd a knyght to him Cezar hit is lighther And ſonner to be made that thou be not ballid/ than that I haue vſid ony cowardyſe in the warre of rome/ or hereafter ſhall doo ony cowardyſe/ he ſuffrid hit paciently and ſayd not aword/ Another reproched hym by his lignage And callyd hym fornier/ he anſwerd that hit is better that nobleſſe begynne in me/ than hit ſhold faylle in me/ Another callid hym tyraunt/ he anſwerd yf I were one. thou woldeſt not ſaie ſoo A knight callid on a tyme ſcipion of affricque fowle & olde knyght in armes And that he knewe lityll good And he anſwerd I was born of my moder a

lityll child and feble and not a man of armes. And yet he was at alle tymes one of the beſt and moſte worthy in armes that liuyd. Another ſayd to vaſpaſian/ And a wolf ſhold ſonner change his ſkyn and heer/ than thou ſholdeſt chaũge thy lyf For the lenger thou lyveſt the more thou coueyteſt And he anſwerd of thyſe wordes we ought to laughe. But we ought to amende our ſelfe And punyſshe the treſpaces. Seneque reherceth that the kynge Antygonus herde certayn peple ſpeke and ſaye euyll of hym/ And therwas betwene hem nomore but a courtyne/ And than he ſayde make an ende of your euyll langage leſte the kynge here yow/ for the courtyne heereth yow well * I nowhe. Than as towchynge to the paynes that they ought to ſuffre paciently Valerius reherceth that a tyrant dide do tormente Anamaximenes & thretenyd hym for to cutte of his tonge. To whom he ſayd hit is not in thy power to doo ſoo/ and forthwyth he bote of his owne tonge/ And ſhewed hit wyth his teth and caſted hit in the viſage of the Tyrant Hit is a grete vertu in a man that he forgete not to be pacyent in corrections of wronges/ Hit is better to leue a gylty man vnpunyſshyd/ than tǫ punyſshe hym in a wrath or yre Valerius reherceth that archita of tarente that was mayſter to plato ſawe that his feldes & lande was deſtroyed and loſt by the necligence of his ſeruant To whom he ſayd yf I were not angry with the I wold take vengeance and turmente the/ Lo there ye may ſee that he had leuer to leue to punyſshe/ than to pugnyſshe more

* ſec. edit. "y nough."

by yre & wrath than by right And therfore ſayth ſeneque/ doo no thynge that thou oughteſt to doo whan y^{u} art angry/ For whan thou art angry thou woldeſt doo alle thynges after thy playſir/ And yf thou canſt not vaynquyſshe thyn yre/ than muſte thyn yre ouercome the/ After thys ought they to haue wylfull pouerte/ lyke as hit was in the auncyent prynces/ For they coueyted more to be riche in wytte and good maners than in moneye/ And that reherceth Valerius in his . viii . booke that ſcipion of Affryque was accuſed vnto the Senate that he ſhold haue grete treſour/ And he anſwerd certes whan I ſubmyſed affryque in to your poeſte/ I helde no thynge to myſelf that I myght ſaye this is myn ſave only the ſurname of affryque/ Ner the affryquans haue not founden in me ner in my broder ony auarice/ ner y^{t} we were ſo couetouſe that we had ne had gretter enuye to be riche of name than of rycheſſes/ And therfore ſayth ſeneque that the kynge Altagone vſid gladly in his hows veſſels of erthe/ And ſome ſayde he dyde hit for couetyſe/ But he ſayde that hit was better and more noble thynge to ſhyne in good maners than in vayſſell And whan ſome men demanded hym why and for what cauſe he dyde ſo/ he anſwerd I am now kynge of ſecylle/ and was ſone of a potter/ and for as moche as I doubte fortune. For whan I yſſued out of the hous of my fader and moder/ I was ſodaynly made riche/ wherfore I beholde the natiuyte of me and of my lignage/ whiche is humble & meke/ And alle theſe thynges cometh of wilfull pouerte/ for he entended more to the comyn

prouffyt than to his owen/ And of thys pouerte ſpeketh saynt Auguſtyn in the booke of the cyte of god That they that entende to the comyn prouffyt. ſorowe more that wilfull pouerte is loſt in rome/ than the richeſſes of rome/ For by the wilfull pouerte was the renomee of good maners kept entierly/ thus by this richeſſe pouerte is not only corrupt in thyſe dayes ner the cyte ner the maners/ but alſo the thoughtes of the men ben corrupt by thys couetyſe and by felonnye that is worſe. than ony other enemye And of the cruelte of the peple of rome ſpeketh the good man of noble memorye Iohn the monke late cardynall of rome in the decretall the ſyxte in the chapitre gens ſancta where he ſayth/ that they ben feloūs ayenſt god. contrarye to holy thynges. traytres one to that other. enuyous to her neyghbours. proude vnto ſtraungers. rebelle and vntrewe vnto theyr ſouerayns Not ſuffringe to them that ben of lower degree than they and nothinge ſhamfaſt to demande thinges diſcouenable and not to leue tyll they haue that they demande/ and not plefid but diſagreable whan they haue reſſeyuyd the yeft They haue their tonges redy for to make grete booſt/ and doo lityll/ They ben large in promyſynges/ And ſmale gyuers/ they ben ryght fals deceyuours/ And ryght mordent and bitynge detractours/ For whiche thynge hit is a grete ſorowe to ſee the humylite the pacyence And the good wiſedom that was woute to be in this cyte of rome whiche is chief of alle the world is peruertid & torned in to malcheurte and thiſe euylles/ And me thynketh that in other partyes of creſtiante they

haue taken enſample of them to doo euyll/ They may ſaye that this is after the decretale of ſeygnourye and diſobeyſance/ that ſayth That ſuche thynges that the ſouerayns doo/ Is lightly and ſone taken in enſample of theyr ſubgets/ Alſo thiſe vicayres ſhold be large and liberall/ In ſo moche that ſuche peple as ſerue them ben duly payd and guerdoned of her labour/ For euery man doth his labour the better and lightlyer whan he ſeeth that he ſhall be well payd and rewarded/ And we rede that Titus the ſone of vaſpaſian was ſo large and ſo liberall/ That he gaf and promyſyd ſomewhat to euery man/ And whan hys moſte pryuy frendes demanded of hym why he promyſid more that he myght gyue/ he anſwerd for as moche as hyt apperteyneth not to a prynce that ony man ſhold departe ſorowfull or tryſte fro hym/ Than hit happend on a day that he gaf ner promyſid no thynge to ony man And whan hit was euen auyſed hymſelf/ he ſayd to hys frendes/ O ye my frendes thys day haue I loſt for this day haue I don no good/ And alſo we rede of Iulius Ceſar that he neuer ſaide in alle his lyue to his knyghtes goo oon but all way be ſayde come come/ For I loue allway to be in youre companye/ And he knewe well that hit was laſſe payne & trauayll to the knyghtes whan the prynce is in her companye that loueth hem & cōforted hem And alſo we rede of the ſame Iulius ceſar in the booke of truphes of phyloſophers/ that ther was an Auncyent knyght of his that was in paryll of a caas hangynge to fore the Iuges of rome ſo he callyd ceſar on a tyme and ſaid to hym to fore all men

that he ſhold be his aduocate And ceſar deliueryd and aſſigned to hym a right good aduocate And the knyght ſayd to hym O ceſar I put no vicaire in my place whan thou were in parill in y^e^ batayll of aſſiſe/ But I faught for the. And than he ſhewed to hym the places of his woundes that he had receyuyd in the batayll And than cam ceſar in his propre perſone for to be his aduocate & to plete his cauſe for hym/ he wold not haue the name of vnkyndenes/ but doubted that men ſhold ſaye that he were proude And that he wold not do for them that had ſeruyd hym They that can not do ſo moche/ as for to be belouyd of her knyghtes/ can not loue the knyghtes And this ſufficeth of the rooks.

BOOK III.

The thirde tractate of the offices of the comyn peple. The fyrſt chapitre is of the office of the labourers and werkemen.

FOR as moche as the Noble perſone canne not rewle ne gouerne with oute y^e^ ſeruyce and werke of the peple/ than hit behoueth to deuyſe the oeuurages and the offices of the werkemen/ Than I ſhall begynne fyrſt at the fyrſt pawne/ that is in the playe of the cheſſe/ And ſignefieth a man of the comyn peple on fote For they be all named pietous that is as moche to ſaye as footemen And than we wyll begynne at the pawne whiche ſtandeth to fore the rooke on the right ſide of the kinge for as moche

as this pawne apperteyneth to ſerue the vicaire or lieutenant of the kynge and other officers vnder hym of neceſſaryes of vitayll/ And this maner a peple is figured and ought to be maad in the forme & ſhappe of a man holdynge in his ryght hande a ſpade or ſhouell And a rodde in the lifte hand/ The ſpade or ſhouell is for to delue & labour therwith the erthe/ And the rodde is for to dryue & conduyte wyth all the beſtes vnto her paſture alſo he ought to haue on his gyrdell/ a crokyd hachet for to cutte of the ſupfluytees of the vignes & trees/ And we rede in the bible that the firſt labourer that euer was/ was Caym the firſte ſone of Adam that was ſo euyll that he ſlewe his broder Abel/ for as moche as the ſmoke of his tythes went ſtrayt vnto heuen/ And the ſmoke & fumee of the tythes of Caym wente downward vpon the erthe And how well that this cauſe was trewe/ yet was ther another cauſe of enuye that he had vnto his broder/ For whan Adam their fader maried them for to multyplie y^e^ erthe of hys lignye/ he wolde not marye ner Ioyne to gyder the two that were born attones/ but gaf vnto caym her that was born wyth Abel/ And to Abel her that was born with caym/ And thus began thenuye that caym had ayenſt abel/ For his wyf was fayrer than cayms wyf And for this cauſe he ſlough abel with the chekebone of a beſte/ & at that tyme was neuer no maner of yron blody of mannes blood/ And abel was y^e^ firſt martier in tholde teſtament/ And this caym dide many other euyl thinges whiche I leue/ for hit apperteyneth not to my mater/ But hit behoueth for neceſſite y^t^

ſome ſhold labour the erthe after y^e^ ſynne of adam/ for to fore er adam ſynned/ the erthe brought forth fruyt with out labour of handes/ but ſyn he ſynned/ hit muſte nedes be labourid with y^e^ handes of men And for as moche as the erthe is moder of alle thynges And that we were firſt formed and toke oure begynnyng of the erthe/ the ſame wyſe at the laſte. ſhe ſhall be the ende vnto alle vs and to alle thynges/ And god that formed vs of the erthe hath ordeyned that by the laboure of men ſhe ſhold gyue nouryſshyng vnto alle that lyueth/ and firſt the labourer of y^e^ erthe ought to knowe his god that formed and made heuen & erthe of nought And ought to haue loyaulte and trouth in hymſelf/ and deſpiſe deth for to entende to his laboure And he ought to gyue thankyngis to hym that made hym And of whom he receyueth all his goodes temporall/ wherof his lyf is ſuſteyned/ And alſo he is bounden to paye the diſmes and tythes of alle his thynges And not as Caym dyde. But as Abell dyde of the beſte that he cheſe allway for to gyue to god & to pleſe hym/ For they that grucche and be greuyd in that they rendre and gyue to god the tienthes of her goodes/ they ought to be aferd and haue drede that they ſhall falle in neceſſite And y^t^ they might be diſpoyllyd or robbed by warre or by tempeſte that myght falle or happen in the contrey And hit is meruayll though hit ſo happen For that man that is diſagreable vnto god And weneth y^t^ the multiplynge of his goodes temporell cometh by the vertu of his owne coũceyll and his wytte/ the whiche is made by the only ordenance of hym that

made alle And by the ſame ordenance is ſoone taken away fro hym that is diſagreable/ and hit is reſon that whan a man haboundeth by fortune in goodes/ And knoweth not god/ by whom hit cometh/ that to hym come ſome other fortune by the whiche he may requyre grace and pardon And to knowe his god/ And we rede of the kynge Dauid that was firſt ſymple & one of the comyn peple/ that whan fortune had enhaunſed and ſette hym in grete aſtate/ he lefte and forgate his god/ And fyll to aduoultrye and homicyde and other ſynnes/ Than anon his owne ſone Abſalon aſſaylled & began to perſecute hym And than whan he ſawe that fortune was contrarye to hym/ he began to take agayn his vertuous werkis and requyred pardoun and so retorned to god agayn. We rede alſo of the children of yſrael that were nyghe enfamyned in deſert and ſore hongry & thruſty that they prayd & requyred of god for remedy/ Anon he changed his wyll & ſente to hem manna/ & fleſsh &c./ And whan they were repleneſshid & fatte of the fleſsh of beſtes & of the manna/ they made a calf of gold and worſhippid hit. Whiche was a grete ſynne & Inyquyte/ For whan they were hongry they knewe god/ And whan theyre belyes were fylde & fatted/ they forgid ydoles & were ydolatrers After this euery labourer ought to be faythfull & trewe That whan his mayſtre delyuereth to hym his lande to be laboured/ that he take no thinge to hymſelf but that hym ought to haue & is his/ but laboure truly & take cure and charge in the name of his maiſtre/ and do more diligently his maiſters labours than his owen/

for the lyf of y^e^ moſt grete & noble men next god lieth in y^e^ handes of the labourers/ and thus all craftes & occupacions ben ordeyned not only to ſuffiſe to them only/ but to the comyn/ And ſo hit happeth ofte tyme that y^e^ labourer of the erthe vſeth grete and boyſtous metes/ and bringeth to his maiſter more ſubtile & more deyntous metes/ And valerius reherceth in his. vi. book that ther was a wiſe & noble maiſtre y^t^ was named Anthoni^9^ that was accuſed of a caas of aduoultrye/ & as the cauſe henge to fore the Iuges/ his accuſers or denonciatours brought I labourer that cloſid his land for ſo moche as they ſayde whan his maiſtre wente to doo the aduoultrye/ this ſame ſeruant bare the lanterne. wherof Anthonyus was ſore abaſshyd and doubted that he ſhold depoſe agaynſt hym But the labourer that was named papirion ſayd to his maiſter that he ſhold denye his cauſe hardyly vnto the Iuges For for to be tormentid/ his cauſe ſhold neuer be enpeyrid by hym/ ner no thynge ſhold yſſue out of his mouth wherof he ſhold be noyed or greuyd And than was the labourer beten and tormentid and brent in many places of his body But he ſayd neuer thynge wherof his mayſter was hurte or noyed/ But the other that accuſed his maiſter were punyſshid And papiryon was deliuerid of his paynes free and franc/ And alſo telleth valerius that ther was another labourer that was named penapion/ that ſeruyd a maiſter whos name was Themes which was of meruayllous faith to his mayſtre For hit befell that certain knyghtes cam to his maiſters hows for to ſlee hym And anone as papiryon knewe hit/ he wente in to his maiſters

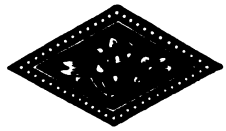
chambre And wold not be knowen For he dide on his maiſters gowne and his rynge on his fynger/ And laye on his bedde And thus put hym ſelf in parill of deth for to reſpite his maiſters lyf/ But we ſee now a dayes many fooles that daigne not to vſe groos metes of labourers. And flee the cours clothynge And maners of a ſeruant Euery wiſe man a ſeruant that truly ſerueth his maiſter is free and not bonde/ But a foole that is ouer proude is bonde/ For the debilite and feblenes of corage that is broken in conſcience by pryde Enuye. or by couetyſe is ryght ſeruytude/ yet they ought not to doubte to laboure for feere and drede of deth/ no man ought to loue to moche his lyf/ For hit is a fowll thynge for a man to renne to the deth for the enemye of his lyf/ And a wyſe man and a ſtronge man ought not to flee for his lyf/ but to yſſue For ther is no man that lyueth/ but he muſt nedes dye. And of this ſpeketh claudyan and ſayth that alle thoo thynges that the Ayer goth aboute and enuyronned. And alle thynge that the erthe laboureth/ Alle thyngys that ben conteyned wyth in the ſee Alle thynges that the floodes brynge forth/ Alle thynges that ben nouryſhid and alle the beſtes that ben vnder the heuen ſhall departe alle from the world/ And alle ſhall goo at his comandement/ As well Kynges Prynces and alle that the world enuyronned and gooth aboute Alle ſhall goo this waye/ Than he ought not to doubte for fere of deth. For as well ſhall dye the ryche as the poure/ deth maketh alle thynge lyke and putteth alle to an ende/ And therof made a noble verſifier two verſis whiche

folowe Forma. genus. mores. ſapiēcia. res. et honores/ Morte ruant ſubita ſola manent merita/ Wherof the engliſh is Beaulte. lignage. maners. wyſedom. thynges & honoures/ ſhal ben deffetid by ſodeyn deth/ no thynge ſhal abide but the merites/ And herof fynde we in Vitas patrum. that ther was an erle a riche & noble man that had a ſone onely/ and whan this ſone was of age to haue knowlech of the lawe/ he herde in a ſermone that was prechid that deth ſpareth none/ ne riche ne poure/ and as well dyeth y^e^ yonge as the olde/ and that the deth ought ſpecially to be doubted for . iii . cauſes/ one was/ y^t^ noman knoweth whan he cometh/ and the ſeconde/ ner in what ſtate he taketh a man/ And the thirde he wote neuer whither he ſhall goo. Therfore eche man ſhold diſpiſe and flee the world and lyue well and hold hym toward god And when this yong man herde this thynge/ he wente oute of his contrey and fledde vnto a wylderneſſe vnto an hermytage/ and whan his fader had loſte hym he made grete ſorowe/ and dyde do enquere & ſeke hym ſo moche at laſt he was founden in the hermitage/ and than his fader cam theder to hym and ſayde/ dere ſone come from thens/ thou ſhalt be after my deth erle and chyef of my lignage/ I ſhall be loſt yf thou come not out from thens/ And he than that wyſte non otherwiſe to eſchewe the yre of his fader bethought hym and ſayde/ dere fader ther is in your contre and lande a right euyll cuſtome yf hit pleſe yow to put that away I ſhall gladly come out of this place and goo with yow The fader was glad and had grete Ioy And demaūded of hym what hit

was And yf he wold telle hym he promyſid him to take hit away and hit ſhold be left and ſette aparte. Than he ſayde dere fader ther dyen as well the yong folk in your contrey as the olde/ do that away I pray yow/ whan his fader herde that he ſayde Dere ſone that may not be ner noman may put that away but god only/ Than anſwerd the ſone to the fader/ than wylle I ſerue hym and dwelle here wyth hym that may do that. And ſo abode the childe in the hermytage & lyuyd there in good werkes After this hit apperteyneth to a labourer to entende to his laboure and flee ydlenes/ And thou oughteſt to knowe that Dauid preyſeth moche in the ſawlter the trewe labourers and ſayth/ Thou ſhalt ete the labour of thyn handes and thou art bleſſid/ and he ſhall do to the good And hit behoueth that the labourer entende to his labour on the werkedayes for to recuyell and gadre to gyder the fruyt of his labour/ And alſo he ought to reſte on the holy day/ bothe he and his beſtes. And a good labourer ought to noryſshe and kepe his beſtes/ And this is ſignefied by the rodde that he hath. Whiche is for to lede and dryue them to the paſture/ The firſte paſtour that euer was/ was Abel whiche was Iuſte and trewe/ and offryd to god the beſtes vnto his ſacrefice/ And hym ought he to folowe in craft & maners But no man that vſeth the malice of Caym may enſue and folowe Abel/ And thus hit apperteyneth to the labourer to ſette and graffe trees and vygnes/ and alſo to plante and cutte them And ſo dyde noe whiche was the firſt that planted the vygne after y^{e} deluge and flood For as Ioſephus

reherceth in y^e^ book of naturell thinges Noe was he that fonde fyrſt the vygne/ And he fonde hym bitter and wylde/ And therfore he toke . iiii . maners of blood/ that is to wete the blood of a lyon. the blood of a lamb. the blood of a ſwyne. and the blood of an ape and medlid them alto geder with the erthe/ And than he cutte the vygne/ And put this aboute the rootes therof. To thende that the bitternes ſhold be put away/ and that hyt ſhold be ſwete/ And whan he had dronken of the fruyt of this vygne/ hit was ſo good and mighty that he becam ſo dronke/ that he diſpoylled hym in ſuche wiſe y^t^ his pryuy membres might be ſeen/ And his yongeſt ſone cham mocqued and ſkorned hym And whan Noe was awakid & was ſobre & faſtinge/ he aſſemblid his ſones and ſhewid to them the nature of the vygne and of the wyn/ And told to them the cauſe why y^t^ he had put the blood of the beſtes aboute the roote of the vygne and that they ſhold knowe well y^t^ otherwhile by y^e^ ſtrength of the wyn men be made as hardy as the lyon and yrous And otherwhile they be made ſymple & ſhamefaſt as a lambe And lecherous as a ſwyn/ And curyous and full of playe as an Ape/ For the Ape is of ſuche nature that whan he ſeeth one do a thynge he enforceth hym to doo the ſame/ and ſo doo many whan they ben dronke/ they will medle them wyth alle officers & matiers that apperteyne no thynge to them/ And whan they ben faſtynge & ſobre they can ſcarſely accompliſshe theyr owne thynges And therfore valerian reherceth that of auncyente and in olde tyme women dranke no wyn for as moche as

by dronkenſhip they myght falle in ony filthe or vilonye And as Ouide ſayth/ that the wyns otherwhyle apparaylle the corages in ſuche manere that they ben couenable to alle ſynnes whiche take away the hertes to doo well/ They make the poure riche/ as longe as the wyn is in his heed And ſhortly dronkenſhyp is the begynnynge of alle euyllys/ And corrompith the body/ and deſtroyed the ſowle and mynuſshith the goodes temporels/ And this ſuffyſeth for the labourer.



The ſeconde chapitre of the thirde tractate treteth of the forme and maner of the ſecond pawne and of the maner of a ſmyth.

THE ſeconde pawne y^{t} ſtandeth to fore the knyght on the right ſide of the kynge hath the forme and figure of a man as a ſmyth and that is reſon For hit apperteyneth to y^{e} knyghtes to haue bridellys ſadellys ſpores and many other thynges made by the handes of ſmythes and ought to holde an hamer in his right hande. And in his lyfte hand a dolabre and he ought to haue on his gyrdell a trowell For by this is ſignefied all maner of werkemen/ as gold-ſmithes. marchallis. ſmithes of all forges/ forgers and makers of monoye & all maner of ſmythes ben

ſignefyed by * the hamer/ The carpenters ben ſignefyed by the dolabre or ſquyer/ And by the trowell we vnderſtande all maſons & keruars of ſtones/ tylers/ and alle them that make howſes caſtels & tours/ And to alle theſe crafty men hit apperteyneth that they be trewe. wiſe and ſtronge/ and hit is nede y^t^ they haue in hemſelf faith and loyaulte/ For vnto the goldſmythes behoueth gold & ſiluer And alle other metallys/ yren & ſteel to other/ And vnto the carpenters and maſons/ ben put to theyr edifices the bodyes and goodes of the peple/ And alſo men put in the handes of the maronners body and goodes of the peple/ And in the garde and ſewerte of them men put body & ſowle in the paryls of the ſee/ and therfore ought they to be trewe/ vnto whom men commytte ſuche grete charge and ſo grete thynges vpon her fayth and truſte. And therfore ſayth the philoſopher/ he that leſeth his fayth and beleue/ may loſe no gretter ne more thynge. And fayth is a ſouerayn good and cometh of the good wyll of the herte and of his mynde And for no neceſſite wyll deceyue no man/ And is not corrupt for no mede. Valerius reherceth that Fabius had receyuyd of hanybal certayn pryſoners that he helde of the romayns for a certayn ſome of money whiche he promyſid to paye to the ſayd hanyball/ And whan he cam vnto the ſenatours of rome and defired to haue y^e^ money lente for hem They anſwerd that they wold not paye ner lene And than fabius ſente his ſone to rome & made hym to ſelle his heritage & patrimonye/ and ſente

* ſec. edit. "by the martel or hamer."

the money that he reſſeyuyd therof vnto hanibal/ And had leuer & louyd better to be poure in his contrey of herytage/ than of byleue and fayth/ But in thyſe dayes hit were grete folye to haue ſuche affiance in moche peple but yf they had ben preuyd afore For oftentymes men truſte in them by whom they ben deceyuyd at theyr nede/ And it is to wete that theſe crafty men and werkemen ben ſouerainly prouffitable vnto the world And wyth oute artificers and werkmen the world myght not be gouerned/ And knowe thou verily that alle tho thynges that ben engendrid on the erthe and on the ſee/ ben made and formed for to do prouffit vnto the lignage of man/ for man was formed for to haue generacion/ that the men myght helpe and prouffit eche other And here in ought we to folowe nature/ For ſhe ſhewed to vs that we ſhold do comyn prouffit one to an other/ And y^e^ firſt fondement of Iuſtice is that no man ſhold noye or greue other But that they ought doo the comyn prouffit/ For men ſaye in reproche That I ſee of thyn/ I hope hit ſhall be myn But who is he in thyſe dayes that entendeth more to the comyn prouffit than to his owne/ Certaynly none/ But all way a man ought to haue drede and feere of his owne hows/ whan he ſeeth his neyghbours hous a fyre And therfore ought men gladly helpe the comyn prouffit/ for men otherwhile ſette not be a lityll fyre And might quenche hit in the begynnyng/ that afterward makyth a grete blaſyng fyre. And fortune hath of no thinge ſo grete playſir/ as for to torne & werke all way/ And

nature is ſo noble a thynge that were as ſhe is ſhe wyll ſuſteyne and kepe/ but this rewle of nature hath fayllid longe tyme/ how well that the decree ſayth that alle the thynges that ben ayenſt the lawe of nature/ ought to be taken away and put a part And he ſayth to fore in the . viii . diſtinction that the ryght lawe of nature differenceth ofte tymes for cuſtome & ſtatutes eſtabliſshid/ for by lawe of nature all thinge ought to be comyn to euery man/ and this lawe was of old tyme And men wene yet ſpecially y^{t} the troians kept this lawe And we rede that the multitude of the Troians was one herte and one ſowle/ And verayly we fynde that in tyme paſſid the philoſophres dyde the ſame/ And alſo hit is to be ſuppoſyd that ſuche as haue theyr goodes comune & not propre is moſt acceptable to god/ For ellys wold not thiſe religious men as monkes freris chanons obſeruantes & all other auowe hem & kepe the wilfull pouerte that they ben profeſſid too/ For in trouth I haue my ſelf ben conuerſant in a religio^{9} hous of white freris at gaunt Which haue all thynge in comyn amonge them/ and not one richer than an other/ in ſo moche that yf a man gaf to a frere . iii . d or . iiii . d to praye for hym in his maſſe/ as ſone as the maſſe is doon he deliuerith hit to his ouereſt or procuratour in whyche hows ben many vertuous and deuoute freris And yf that lyf were not the beſte and the moſt holieſt/ holy church wold neuer ſuffre hit in religion And acordynge thereto we rede in plato whiche ſayth y^{t} the cyte is well and Iuſtely gouernid and ordeyned in the whiche no man maye ſaye by

right. by cuſtome. ne by ordenance/ this is myn/ but I ſay to the certaynly that ſyn this cuſtome cam forth to ſay this is myn/ And this is thyn/ no man thought to preferre the comyn prouffit ſo moche as his owen/ And alle werkemen ought to be wiſe & well aduyſyd ſo that they haue none enuye ne none euyll ſuſpecion one to an other/ for god wylle that our humayne nature be couetous of two thynges/ that is of Religion. And of wyſedom/ but in this caas ben ſome often tymes deceyued For they take ofte tymes religion and leue wiſedom And they take wyſedom and reffuſe religion And none may be vraye and trewe with oute other For hit apperteyneth not to a wyſe man to do ony thynge that he may repente hym of hit/ And he ought to do no thynge ayenſt his wyll/ but to do alle thynge nobly. meurely. fermely. and honeſtly And yf he haue enuye vpon ony. hit is folye For he on whom he hath enuye is more honeſt and of more hauoir than he whiche is ſo enuyous/ For a man may haue none enuye on an other/ but be cauſe he is more fortunat and hath more grace than hym ſelf/ For enuye is a ſorowe of corage y^{t} cometh of dyſordynance of the prouffit of another man And knowe thou verily that he that is full of bounte ſhall neuer haue enuye of an other/ But thenuyous man ſeeth and thynketh alleway that euery man is more noble/ And more fortunat that hymſelf And ſayth alleway to hymſelf/ that man wynneth more than I/ and myn neyghebours haue more plente of beſtes/ and her thynges multiplye more than myn/ and therfore thou oughteſt knowe that enuye is the

moſt gretteſt dedely ſynne that is/ for ſhe tormenteth hym that hath her wythin hym/ wyth oute torméntynge or doyng ony harme to hym/ on whome he hath enuye. And an enuyous man hath no vertue in hymſelf/ for he corrumpeth hymſelf for as moche as he hateth allway the welthe and vertues of other/ and thus ought they to kepe them that they take none euyll ſuſpecõn For a man naturelly whan his affection hath ſuſpecion in ony man that he weneth that he doth/ hit ſemeth to hym verily that it is doon. And hit is an euyll thynge for a man to haue ſuſpecion on hymſelf/ For we rede that dionyſe of zecyll a tyrant Was ſo ſuſpecionous that he had ſo grete fere and drede For as moche as he was hated of all men/ that he putte his frendes oute of theyr offices that they had/ And put other ſtrangers in theyr places for to kepe his body/ and cheſe ſuche as were ryght Cruell and felons/ And for fere and doubte of the barbours/ he made hys doughters to lerne ſhaue and kembe/ And whan they were grete. He wold not they ſhold vſe ony yron to be occupied by them/ but to brenne and ſenge his heeris/ and manaced them and durſt not truſte in them/ And in lyke wyſe they had none affiance in hym And alſo he dyde do enuyronne the place where he laye wyth grete diches and brode lyke a caſtell/ And he entryd by a drawbrygge whiche cloſyd after hym/ And hys knyghtes laye wyth oute wyth his gardes whiche wacchid and kept ſtraytly thys fortereſſe/ And whan plato ſawe thys Dionyſe kynge of cezille thus enuyronned and ſet aboute wyth gardes & wacche-

men for the cauſe of his ſuſpecion ſayd to hym openly to fore all men kinge why haſt thou don ſo moche euyll & harme/ that the behoueth to be kept wyth ſo moche peple/ And therfore I ſaye that hit apperteyneth not to ony man that wylle truly behaue hym ſelf in his werkis to be ſuſpecyous/ And alſo they ought to be ſtronge and ſeure in theyr werkes/ And ſpecyally they that ben mayſters and maronners on the ſee/ for yf they be tumerous and ferdfull they ſhold make a ferde them that ben in theyr ſhippis/ that knowe not the paryls/ And ſo hit might happene that by that drede and fere alle men ſhold leue theyr labour/ And ſo they myght be periſshid and deſpeyred in theyr corages/ For a ſhippe is ſoone periſshid and loſt by a lityll tempeſt/ whan the gouernour faylleth to gouerne his ſhippe for drede/ And can gyue no counceyll to other than it is no meruayll/ thangh they be a ferd that ben in his gouernance/ And therfore ought be in them ſtrengthe force and corage/ and ought to conſidere the peryls that might falle/ And the gouernour ſpecially ought not to doubte/ And if hit happen that ony paryll falle/ he ought to promyſe to the other good hoope/ And hit apperteyneth well/ that a man of good and hardy corage be ſette in that office/ In ſuche wyſe that he haue ferme and ſeure mynde ayenſt the paryls that oftetymes happen in the ſee/ and with this ought the maroners haue good and ferme creance and beleue in god/ and to be of good reconforte & of fayr langage vnto them that he gouerneth in ſuche paryls/ And this ſufficeth to yow as touchynge the labourers.

The thirde chapitre of the thirde book treteth of the office of notaryes aduocats ſkryueners and drapers or clothmakers.

THe thirde pawne whiche is ſette to fore the Alphyn on the right ſide ought to be figured as a clerk And hit is reſon that he ſhold ſo be/ For as moche as amonge y^e^ comon peple of whom we ſpeke in thys book they plete the differencis contencions and cauſes otherwhile the whiche behoueth the Alphins to gyue ſentence and Iuge as Iuges And hit is reſon that the Alphin or Iuge haue his notarye/ by whom y^e^ proceſſe may be wreton/ And this pawne ought to be made and figured in this mamere/ he

muſte be made like a man that holdeth in his right hand a pair of ſheres or forcetis/ and in the lifte hand a grete knyf and on his gurdell a penuer and an ynkhorn/ and on his eere a penne to wryte wyth And that ben the Inſtrumentis & the offices that ben made and put in writynge autentyque/ and ought to haue paſſed to fore the Iuges as libelles writtes condempnacions and ſentences/ And that is ſignefied by the ſcriptoire and the penne and on that other part hit appertayneth to them to cutte cloth. ſhere. dighte. and dye/ and that is ſignefied by the forcettis or ſheres/ and the other ought to ſhaue berdes and kembe the heeris/ And the other ben coupers. coryers. tawiers. ſkynners. bouchers and cordwanners/ and theſe ben ſignefyed by the knyf that he holdeth in his hand and ſome of thiſe forſayd crafty men ben named drapers or cloth-makers for ſo moche as they werke wyth wolle. and the Notayres. ſkynners. coryours. and cardewaners werke by ſkynnes and hydes/ As parchemyn velume. peltrye and cordewan/ And the Tayllours. cutters of cloth. weuars. fullars. dyers/ And many other craftes ocupye and vſe wulle/ And alle thyſe crafty men & many other that I haue not named/ ought to doo theyr craft and meſtyer/ where as they ben duly ordeyned Curyouſly and truly/ Alſo ther ought to be amonge thyſe crafty men amyable com-panye and trewe/ honeſt contenance/ And trouthe in their wordes/ And hit is to wete that the no-taries ben right prouffitable and ought to be good & trewe for the comyn And they ought to kepe them fro appropriynge to themſelf that thynge y^{t} apper-

teyneth to the comyn And yf they be good to them ſelf/ they ben good to other. And yf they be euyll for themſelf/ they ben euyll for other And the proceſſes that ben made to fore the Iuges ought to ben wreton & paſſid by them/ and hit is to wete that by their writynge in the proceſſis may come moche prouffit And alſo yf they wryte otherwyſe than they ought to doo/ may enſewe moche harme and domage to the comyn Therfore ought they to take good heede that they chaūge not ne corrumpe in no wyſe the content of the ſentence. For than ben they firſt forſworn And ben bounden to make amendes to them that by theyr tricherye they haue endomaged/ And alſo ought they to rede viſite and to knowe the ſtatutes. ordenances and the lawes of the cytees of the contre/ where they dwelle and enhabite/ And they ought to conſidere yf ther be ony thynge therein conteyned ayenſt right and reſon/ and yf they fynde ony thinge contraire/ they ought to admoneſte and warne them that gouerne/ that ſuche thynges may be chaūged into better aſtate/ For cuſtome eſtabliſshid ayenſt good maners and agaynſt the fayth/ ought not to be holden by right. For as hit is ſayd in the decree in the chapitre to fore/ alle ordenance made ayenſt ryght ought to be holden for nought Alas who is now that aduocate or notaire that hath charge to wryte and kepe ſentence that putteth his entente to kepe more the comyn prouffit or as moche as his owen/ But alle drede of god is put a back/ and they deceyue the ſymple men And drawen them to the courtes diſordinatly and conſtrayned them to ſwere and make

othes not couenable/ And in aſſemblyng the peple thus to gyder they make moo trayſons in the cytees than they make good alyances And otherwhile they deceyue their ſouerayns/ whan they may doo hit couertly For ther is no thynge at this day that ſo moche greueth rome and Italye as doth the college of notaries and aduocates publicque For they ben not of oon a corde/ Alas and in Engeland what hurte doon the aduocats. men of lawe. And attorneyes of court to the comyn peple of y^{e} royame as well in the ſpirituell lawe as in the temporall/ how torne they the lawe and ſtatutes at their pleaſir/ how ete they the peple/ how enpouere they the comynte/ I ſuppoſe that in alle Criſtendom ar not ſo many pletars attorneys and men of the lawe as ben in englond onely/ for yf they were nombrid all that lange to the courtes of the channcery kinges benche. comyn place. cheker. reſſayt and helle And the bagge berars of the ſame/ hit ſhold amounte to a grete multitude And how alle thyſe lyue & of whome. yf hit ſhold be vttrid & told/ hit ſhold not be beleuyd. For they entende to theyr ſynguler wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn/ how well they ought to be of good wyll to gyder/ and admoneſte and warne the cytes eche in his right in ſuche wiſe that they myght haue pees and loue one with an other And tullius ſaith that frendſhippe and good wyll that one ought to haue ayenſt an other for the wele of hym that he loueth/ wyth the ſemblable wylle of hym/ ought to be put forth to fore alle other thynges/ And ther is no thynge ſo reſemblynge and lyke to the bees that maken honye

ne ſo couenable in proſperite and in aduerſite as is loue/ For by loue gladly the bees holden them to gyder/ And yf ony treſpace to that other anone they renne vpon the malefactour for to punyſshe hym/ And verray trewe loue faylleth neuer for wele ne for euyll/ and the moſt ſwete and the moſt confortynge thynge is for to haue a frende to whom a man may ſaye his ſecrete/ as well as to hym ſelf/ But verayly amytye and frendſhip is ſomtyme founded vpon ſom thinge delectable And this amytye cometh of yongthe/ in the whiche dwelleth a diſordinate heete.

And otherwhile amytie is founded vpon honeſte/ And this amytie is vertuouſe/ Of the whiche tullius ſaith y^{t} ther is an amytie vertuous by the whiche a man ought to do to his frende alle that he requyreth by rayſon For for to do to hym a thynge diſhonneſte it is ayenſt the nature of verray frendſhipe & amytie/ And thus for frendſhipe ne for fauour a man ought not to doo ony thinge vnreſonable ayenſt the comyn prouffit ner agaynſt his fayth ne ayenſt his oth/ for yf alle tho thynges that the frendes deſire and requyre were accompliſshid & doon/ hit ſhold ſeme that they ſhold be diſhoneſte coniuracions/ And they myght otherwhile more greue & hurte than prouffit and ayde/ And herof ſayth ſeneque that amytie is of ſuche wylle as the frende wylle/ And to reffuſe that ought to be reffuſid by rayſon/ And yet he ſayth more. that a man ought to alowe and preyſe his frende to fore the peple/ and to correcte and to chaſtyſe hym pryuyly. For the lawe of amytie is ſuche For a

man ought not to demande ner doo to be doon to his frende no vyllayns thynge that ought to be kept ſecrete And valerian ſayth that it is a fowll thynge and an euyll excuſacion/ yf a man conffeſſe that he hath done ony euyll for his frende ayenſt right and rayſon/ And ſayth that ther was a good man named Taſſile whiche herde one his frende requyre of hym a thynge diſhonneſte whiche he denyed and wold not doo And than his frende ſayth to hym in grete diſpyte/ what nede haue I of thy frendſhip & amytie whan thou wylt not doo that thynge that I requyre of the And Taſſile anſwerd to hym/ what nede haue I of the frendſhip and of the amytie of the/ yf I ſhold doo for the thynge diſhoneſte And thus loue is founded otherwhile vpon good prouffitable/ and this loue endureth as longe as he ſeeth his prouffit And herof men ſaye a comyn prouerbe in england/ that loue laſteth as longe as the money endureth/ and whan the money faylleth than there is no loue/ and varro reherceth in his ſommes/ that y^{e} riche men ben alle louyd by this loue/ for their frendes ben lyke as y^{e} huſke whiche is aboute the grayn/ and no man may proue his frende ſo well as in aduerſite/ or whan he is poure/ for the veray trewe frende faylleth at no nede/ And ſeneque ſaith y^{t} ſome folowe the empour for riches/ and ſo doon y^{e} flies the hony for the ſwetenes/ and the wolf the karayn And thiſe companye folowe the proye/ and not the man And tullius ſaith that Tarquyn y^{e} proude had a neuewe of his ſuſter which was named brutus/ and this neuewe had banyſhid tarquyn out of rome and had ſente hym in exyle/

And than ſayd he firſt that he parceyuyd & knewe his frendes whiche were trewe & untrewe/ and yᵗ he neuer perceyuyd a fore tyme whan he was puyſſant for to doo their wyll/ and ſayd well that the loue that they had to hym/ endured not but as longe as it was to them prouffitable/ and therfore ought till the ryche men of the world take hede/ be they Kynges Prynces or ducs to what peple they doo prouffit & how they may and ought be louyd of theyr peple/ For cathon ſayth in his book/ ſee to whom thougyuyſt/ and this loue whiche is founded vpon theyr prouffit/ whiche faylleth and endureth not/ may better be callyd and ſaid marchandyſe than loue/ For yf we repute this loue tꝙ our prouffit only/ and nothynge to the prouffyt of hym that we loue/ It is more marchandyſe than loue/ For he byeth our loue for the prouffit that he doth to vs/ and therfor ſaith the verſifier thiſe two verſis Tempore felici multi murmerantur amici Cum fortuna perit nullus amicus erit/ whiche is to ſaye in Engliſh that as longe as a man is ewrous and fortunat he hath many frendes but whan fortune torneth and periſshith. ther abideth not to hym one frende/ And of this loue ben louyd the medowes. feldes. Trees and the beſtes for the prouffit that men take of them/ But the loue of the men ought to be charyte. veray gracious and pure by good fayth/ And the veray trewe frendes ben knowen in pure aduerſite/ and pers alphons ſaith in his book of moralite that ther was a philoſophre in arabye that had an onely ſone/ of whom he demanded what frendes he had goten hym in his lyf And he an-

ſwerd that he had many And his fader ſayd to hym/ I am an olde man/ And yet coude I neuer fynde but one frende in alle my lyf/ And I trowe verily that it is no lytyll thynge for to haue a frende/ and hit is well gretter and more a man to haue many/ And hit appertayneth and behoueth a man to aſſaye and preue his frende er he haue nede And than comanded the philoſopher his ſone/ that he ſhold goo and ſlee a ſwyne/ and putte hit in a ſack/ and fayne that hit were a man dede that he had ſlayn and bere hit to his frendes for to burye hit ſecretly/ And whan the ſone had don as his fader comanded to hym and had requyred his frendes one after an other as a fore is ſayd/ They denyed hym/ And anſwerd to hym that he was a vylayne to requyre & deſire of them thynge that was ſo perylous And than he cam agayn to his fader and ſayd to hym how he had requyred alle his frendes/ And that he had not founden one that wolde helpe hym in his nede And than his fader ſaid to hym that he ſhold goo and requyre his frende whiche had but one/ and requyre hym that he ſhold helpe hym in his nede And whan he had requyred hym/ Anone he put oute alle his mayne oute of his hows/ And whan they were oute of the waye or a ſlepe he dide do make ſecretly a pytte in the grounde/ And whan hyt was redy and wold haue buryed the body/ he fonde hit an hogge or a ſwyne and not a man/ And thus thys ſone preuyd thys man to be a veray trewe frende of his fader/ And preuyd that his frendes were fals frendes of fortune/ And yet reherceth the ſayd piers Alphons/ That ther

were two marchantes one of Bandach and that other of Egipte whiche were ſo Ioyned to gyder by ſo grete frendſhippe that he of Bandach cam on a tyme for to ſee hys frende in Egipte/ of whom he was receyuyd ryght honourably And thys marchant of Egipte had in his hows a fayr yonge mayden whom he ſhold haue had in maryage to hymſelf/ Of the whiche mayde thys marchant of Bandach was eſpryſed wyth her loue ſo ardantly that he was ryght ſeeke/ And that men ſuppoſid hym to dye. And than the other dyde doo come the phiſicyens whiche ſayd that in hym was none other ſekenes ſauf paſſyon of loue/ Than he axid of the ſeeke man yf ther wer ony woman in hys hows that he louyd and made alle the women of his hows to come to fore hym/ And than he chees her that ſhold haue ben that others wyf and ſayd that he was ſeek for the loue of her/ Than hys frende ſayd to hym Frende conforte your ſelf/ For trewly I gyue her to yow to wyf wyth alle the dowayre that is gyuen to me wyth her/ And had leuer to ſuffre to be wyth oute wyf than to leſe the body of his frende And than he of Bandach wedded the mayde. And wente wyth his wyf and wyth his richeſſe ayen in to his contrey And after this anone after hit happend that the marchañt of Egipte be cam ſo poure by euyll fortune/ that he was conſtrayned to ſeche and begge his brede by the contrey in ſo moche that he cam to bandach. And whan he entrid in to the toun hit was derke nyght that he coude not fynde the hows of his frende/ but wente and laye this nyght in an olde

temple/ And on the morn whan he ſhold yſſue oute of the temple/ the officers of the toun areſtid hym and ſayd that he was an homycide and had ſlayn a man whiche laye there dede And anōn he confeſſid hit wyth a good wylle/ And had leuyr to ben hangid/ than to dye in that myſerable and poure lyf that he ſuffrid And thus whan he was brought to Iugement And ſentence ſhold haue ben gyuen ayenſt hym as an homicide/ his frende of bandach cam and ſawe hym and anone knewe y^{t} this was his good frende of Egipte And forthwyth ſtept in and ſayde that he hymſelf was culpable of the deth of this man/ and not that other/ and enforced hym in alle maners for to delyuer and excuſe that other/ And than whan that he that had don the feet and had ſlayn the man ſawe this thynge/ he conſiderid in hym ſelf that theſe two men were Innocente. of this feet/ And doubtynge the dyuyn Iugement he cam to fore the Iuge and confeſſid alle the feet by ordre/ And whan the Iuge ſawe and herd alle this mater/ and alſo the cauſes he conſiderid the ferme and trewe loue that was betwene the two frendes And vnderſtode the cauſe why that one wold ſaue that other/ and the trouth of the fayte of the homicide And than he pardoned alle the feet hoolly and entierly/ and after the marchant of bandach brought hym of egipte wyth hym in to his hous/ and gaf to hym his ſuſter in mariage/ and departid to hym half his goodes/ And ſo bothe of hem were riche/ And thus were they bothe veray faythfull and trewe frendes/ Furthermore Notaires. men of lawe and crafty men ſhold and ought to loue eche

other And alſo ought to be contynent chaſte & honeſte/ For by theyr craftes they ought ſo to be by neceſſite/ For they conuerſe & accompanye them ofte tyme with women And therfor hit apperteyneth to them to be chaſte and honeſte And that they meue not the women ner entyſe them to lawhe/ and Iape by ony diſordinate enſignees or tokens/ Titus liuyus reherceth that the philoſopher democreon dyde do put oute his eyen for as moche as he myght not beholde the women wyth oute fleſshely deſire/ And how well hit is ſaid before that he dide hit for other certayn cauſe yet was this one of the pryncipall cauſes/ And Valerian telleth that ther was a yonge man of rome of ryght excellent beaute/ And how well that he was ryght chaſte/ For as moche as his beaute meuyd many women to deſyre hym/ in ſo moche that he vnderſtode that the parents and frendes of them had ſuſpecion in hym/ he dyde his viſage to be cutte wyth a knyf and lancettis endlonge and ouerthwart for to deforme his viſage/ And had leuer haue a fowle viſage and disformed/ than the beaute of hys viſage ſhold meue other to ſynne/ And alſo we rede that ther was a Nonne a virgyne dyde do put oute bothe her eyen For as moche as the beaute of her eyen meuyd a kynge to loue her/ whyche eyen ſhe ſente to the kynge in a preſente/ And alſo we rede that plato the ryght ryche and wyſe phyloſophre lefte hys owne lande and Contre. And cheeſe his manſion and dwellynge in achadomye a town/ whiche was not only deſtroyed but alſo was full of peſtelence/ ſo that by the cure and charge and cuſtomance

of ſorowe that be there ſuffrid/ myght eſchewe the heetes and occaſions of lecherye/ And many of his diſciples dyde in lyke wyſe/ Helemand reherceth that demoſtenes the philoſopher lay ones by a right noble woman for his diſporte/ and playnge with her he demanded of her what he ſhold gyue to haue to doo wyth her/ And ſhe anſwerd to hym/ a thouſand pens/ and he ſayd agayn to her I ſhold repente me to bye hit ſo dere/ And whan he aduyſed hym that he was ſo ſore chauffid to ſpeke to her for taccōpliſsh his fleſshely deſire/ he diſpoyled hym alle naked and wente and putte hym in the middes of the ſnowe And ouide reherceth that this thynge is the leſte that maye helpe and moſte greue the louers And therfore ſaynt Auguſtyn reherceth in his book de Ciuitate dei that ther was a ryght noble romayne named merculian that wan and toke the noble cyte of ſiracuſe And to fore er he dyde do aſſaylle hit or befyghte hit/ and er he had do be ſhedde ony blood/ he wepte and ſhedde many teeris to fore the cyte And that was for the cauſe that he doubted that his peple ſhold defoyle and corrumpe to moche diſhoneſtly the chaſtyte of the toun And ordeyned vpon payne of deth that no man ſhold be ſo hardy to take and defoylle ony woman by force what that euer ſhe were/ After this the craftymen ought to vnderſtond for to be trewe/ and to haue trouthe in her mouthes And that theyr dedes folowe theyr wordes For he that ſayth one thynge and doth another/ he condempneth hymſelf by his word Alſo they ought to ſee well to that they be of one Acorde in good. by entente. by word. and by dede/

ſo that they ben not diſcordant in no caas/ But euery man haue pure veryte and trouth in hym ſelf/ For god hym ſelf is pure verite/ And men ſay comynly that trouthe ſeketh none hernes ne corners/ And trouthe is a vertu by the whyche alle drede and fraude is put away/ Men ſaye truly whan they ſaye that they knowe/ And they that knowe not trouthe/ ought to knowe hit/ And alleway vſe trouthe/ For Saynt Auſtyn ſayth that they that wene to knowe trouthe/ And lyuyth euyll & viciouſly It is folye yf he knoweth hit not/ And alſo he ſayth in an other place that it is better to ſuffre peyne for trouthe. Than for to haue a benefete by falſenes or by flaterye. And man that is callyd a beſte reſonable and doth not his werkes after reſon and trouthe/ Is more beſtyall than ony beſte brute/ And knowe ye that for to come to the trouthe/ Hit cometh of a rayſonable forſight in his mynde/ And lyenge cometh of an outrageous and contrarye thought in his mynde/ For he that lyeth wetyngly/ Knoweth well that hit is agaynſt the trouthe that he thynketh/ And herof ſpeketh Saynt Bernard and ſayth/ That the mouthe that lyeth deſtroyeth the ſowle/ And yet ſayth Saynt Auſtyn in an other place For to ſaye ony thynge/ And to doo the contrarye. maketh doctryne ſuſpecious/ And knowe ye veryly that for to lye is a right perillous thynge to body and ſowle For the lye that the auncyent enemye made Eue & adam to beleue hym/ made hem for to be dampned wyth alle theyr lignage to the deth pardurable And made hem to be caſt oute of Paradyſe terreſtre/ For he

made them to beleue that god had not forboden them the fruyt. But only be cauſe they ſhold not knowe that her maiſter knewe But how well that the deuyll ſaid thiſe wordes yet had ſhe double entente to hem bothe For they knewe ann as they had taſted of the fruyt that they were dampned to the deth pardurable/ And god knewe it well to fore But they ſuppoſid well to haue knowen many other thynges And to belyke vnto his knowleche and ſcience And therfor ſayth ſaynt poule in a piſtyll/ hit ne apperteyneth to ſaure or knowe more than behoueth to ſaure or knowe/ but to ſauoure or knowe by meſure or ſobrenes/ And valerian reherceth that ther was a good woman of ſiracuſane that wold not lye vnto the kynge of ſecylle whiche was named dyonyſe And this kynge was ſo full of tyrannye & ſo cruell that alle the world deſired his deth and curſid hym/ Saauf this woman onely whiche was ſo olde that ſhe had ſeen thre or . iiii . kynges regnynge in the contre/ And euery mornynge as ſone as ſhe was ryſen ſhe prayd to god that he wold gyue vnto the tyrant good lyf and longe And that ſhe myght neuer ſee his deth/ And when the kynge dyoniſe knewe this he ſent for her And meruayllid moche herof For he knewe well that he was ſore behated/ And demaunded her/ what cauſe meuyd her to pray for hym. And ſhe anſwerd and ſaid to hym Syre whan I was a mayde we had a right euyll tyrant to our kynge of whom we coueyted ſore the deth And whan he was ded ther cam after hym a worſe/ of whom we coueyted alſo the deth/ And whan we were deliueryd of hym/ thou camſt to

be our lord whiche arte worſte of alle other. And now I doubte yf we haue one after the he ſhall be worſe than thou art/ And therfore I ſhall pray for the And whan dionyſe vnderſtod that ſhe was ſo hardy in ſayynge the truthe/ he durſte not doo tormente her for ſhame be cauſe ſhe was ſo olde.

The fourth chapitre of the thirde book treteth of the maner of the fourth pawn and of the marchants or changers.

THE fourth pawn is ſette to for the kynge And is formed in the fourme of a man holding in his ryght hand a balance/ And the weyght in the lifte hand/ And to fore hym a table And at his gurdell a purſe fulle of monoye redy for to gyue to them that requyre hit And by this peple ben ſignefied the marchans of cloth lynnen and wollen & of all other marchandiſes And by the table that is to for hym is ſignefied y^e^ changeurs/ And they that lene money/ And they that bye & ſelle by the weyght

ben ſignefyed by the balances and weight And the cuſtomers. tollers/ and reſſeyuours of rentes & of money ben ſignefied by the purſe And knowe ye that alle they that ben ſignefied by this peple ought to flee auaryce and couetyſe/ And eſchewe brekynge of the dayes of payement/ And ought to holde and kepe theyr promyſſis/ And ought alſo to rendre & reſtore y^{t}/ that is gyuen to them to kepe/ And therfor hit is reſon that this peple be ſette to for y^{e} kynge/ for as moche as they ſignefie the reſſeyuours of the treſours royall that ought all way to be redy to fore y^{e} kynge/ and to anſwere for hym to the knightes and other perſones for their wages & ſouldyes And therfore haue I ſayd that they ought to flee auarice. For auarice is as moche to ſay as an adourer or as worſhipar of fals ymages/ & herof ſaith Tullius that auarice is a couetiſe to gete y^{t} thing that is aboue neceſſite/ & it is a loue diſordinate to haue ony thynge And it is one of the werſt thyngis that is And ſpecially to prynces and to them that gouerne the thynges of the comunete And this vice cauſeth a man to do euyll/ And this doynge euyll is whan hit regneth in olde men And herof ſaith Seneque That alle wordly thynges ben mortifyed and appetiſſid in olde men reſerued auaryce only/ whiche alleway abideth wyth hym and dyeth wyth hym But I vnderſtande not well the cauſe wherof this cometh ne wherfore hit may be And hit is a fowle thynge and contrarie to reſon That whan a man is at ende of his Iourney for to lengthe his viage and to ordeyne more vitayll than hym behoueth And this may well be lykened to

the auarycious wolf For the wolf doth neuer good tyll he be dede And thus it is ſayd in the prouerbis of the wiſemen/ that thauaricious man doth no good tyll that he be ded/ And he deſireth no thynge but to lyue longe in this ſynne For the couetouſe man certaynly is not good for ony thynge For he is euyll to hymſelf and to the riche and to the poure. And fynde cauſe to gayn ſaye theyr deſire/ and herof reherceth ſeneque and ſayth that Antigonus was a couetous prynce/ & whan Tinque whiche was his frende requyred of hym a beſaūt/ he anſwerd to hym that he demanded more than hit apperteyned to hym And than tinque conſtrayned by grete neceſſite axid and requyred of hym a peny/ And he anſwerd to hym that hit was no yefte couenable for a kynge and ſo he was allway redy to fynde a cauſe nought to gyue For he myght haue gyuen to hym a beſaūt as a kynge to his frende/ And the peny as to a poure man And ther is no thynge ſo lytyll/ but that the humanyte of a kynge may gyue hit Auarice full of couetyfe is a maner of alle vices of luxurye And Joſephus reherceth in the book of auncyent hiſtories/ that ther was in rome a ryght noble lady named Paulyne/ And was of the moſt noble of rome/ right honeſte for the nobleſſe of chaſtete/ whiche was maryed in the tyme that the women gloryfied them in theyr chaſtete vnto a yonge man fayr. noble. and riche aboue alle other/ and was lyke and ſemblable to his wyf in alle caaſis/ And this paulyne was belouyd of a knight named emmerancian And was ſo ardautly eſpryſed in her loue that he ſente to her many right

riche yeftes/ And made to her many grete promiſſis/ but he might neuer torne the herte of her whiche was on her ſide alſo colde and harde as marbill But had leuer to reffuſe his yeftes and his promiſſes. Than to entende to couetiſe & to loſe her chaſtete/ and we rede alſo in the hiſtoryes of rome that ther was a noble lady of rome/ whiche lyuyd a ſolitarye lyf and was chaſte & honeſte/ And had gadrid to gyder a grete ſome of gold/ And had hid hit in the erthe in a pytte wyth in her hous/ And whan ſhe was ded/ the biſshop dyde do burye her in the churche well and honeſtly/ And anone after this gold was founden & born to the biſshop/ And the biſshop had to caſte hit in to the pytte wher ſhe was buryed. And .iii. dayes men herd her crye & make grete noyſe/ and ſaye that ſhe brennyd in grete payne/ and they herd her ofte tymes thus tormentid in y^e^ chirche/ the neighbours wente to the biſshop & told hym therof/ and y^e^ biſshop gaf hem leue to open the ſepulcre/ and whan they had opend hit/ they fonde all the gold molten with fyre full of ſulphre/ And was poured and put in her mouth/ and they herd one ſaye/ thou deſiredeſt this gold by couetyſe take hit and drynke hit/ And than they toke the body out of the tombe And hit was caſt oute in a preuy place Seneque reherceth in the book of the cryes of women that auarice is foundement of alle vices/ And valerian reherceth that auarice is a ferdfull garde or kepar of rycheſſis for he that hath on hym or in his kepynge moche money or other rycheſſis/ is allway a ferd to loſe hit or to be robbid or to be

ſlayn therfore/ And he is not ewrous ner happy that by couetyſe geteth hit/ And alle the euyllys of this vice of auarice had a man of rome named ſeptemulle For he was a frende of one named tarchus And this ſeptemulle brente ſo ſore and ſo cruelly in this ſynne of couetyſe/ that he had no ſhame to ſmyte of the hede of his frende by trayſon/ For as moche as one framoſian had promyſed to hym as moche weyght of pure gold as the heed weyed And he bare the ſayd heed vpon a ſtaf thurgh the cyte of rome/ and he wyded the brayn out therof and fyld hit full of leed for to weye the heuyer This was a right horrible and cruell auarice Ptolome kynge of the Egipciens pourſewed auarice in an other manere For whan anthonie emperour of rome ſawe that he was right riche of gold and ſiluer/ he had hym in grete hate and tormentid hym right cruelly And whan he ſhold periſhe be cauſe of his richeſſis/ he toke alle his hauoyr and put hit in a ſhippe And wente wyth alle in to the hye ſee to thende for to drowne and periſhe there the ſhippe and his rycheſſes be cauſe Anthonie his enemye ſhold not haue hit/ And whan he was there he durſt not periſshe hit ner myght not fynde in his herte to departe from hit/ but cam and brought hit agayn in to his hows where he reſſeyuyd the reward of deth therfore. And wyth oute doubte he was not lord of the richeſſe but the richeſſe was lady ouer hym/ And therfore hit is ſayd in prouerbe that a man ought to ſeignorye ouer the riches/ and not for to ſerue hit/ and yf thou canſt dewly vſe thy rycheſſe than ſhe is thy chamberyer/ And yf

thou can not departe from hit and vſe hit honeſtly at thy playſir/ knowe verily y^{t} ſhe is thy lady For the richeſſe neuer ſatisfieth the couetouſe/ but the more he hath/ the more he deſireth/ And ſaluſte ſayth that auarice diſtourblith fayth poeſte honeſte and alle theſe other good vertues/ And taketh for theſe vertues pryde. cruelte. And to forgete god/ And ſaith that alle thynges be vendable And after this they ought to be ware that they leue not to moche/ ner make ſo grete creances by which they may falle in pouerte/ For ſaynt Ambroſe ſaith upon tobye. pouerte hath no lawe/ for to owe hit is a ſhame/ & to owe and not paye is a more ſhame/ yf y^{u} be poure beware how thou boroweſt/ and thinke how thou maiſt paye & rendre agayn yf y^{u} be ryche y^{u} haſt none nede to borowe & axe/ & it is ſaid in the prouerbes y^{t} hit is fraude to take/ that y^{u} wilt not ner maiſt rendre & paye agayn/ and alſo hit is ſaid in reproche/ whan I leue I am thy frend/ & whan I axe I am thy enemye/ as wo ſaith/ god at the lenynge/ & the deuyll at rendrynge/ And ſeneque ſayth in his auctorites/ that they y^{t} gladly borowe/ ought gladly to paye/ and ought to ſurmonte in corage to loue hem the better be cauſe they leue hem & ayde hem in her nede/ For for benefetes & good tornes doon to a man ought to gyue hym thankinges therfore/ And moche more ought a man to repaye that Is lente hym in his nede/ But now in theſe dayes many men by lenynge of their money haue made of their frendes enemyes/ And herof ſpeketh Domas the philoſopher and ſayth that my frende borowed money of

me/ And I haue loſt my frende and my money attones/ Ther was a marchant of Gene & alſo a chaungeour/ whos name was Albert gauor/ And this albert was a man of grete trouth and loyaulte/ for on a tyme ther was a man cam to hym and ſaid & affermed that he had delyueryd in to his banke .v. honderd floryns of gold to kepe whiche was not trouth for he lyed/ whyche fyue honderd floryns the ſaid Albert knewe not of/ ner coude fynde in all hys bookes ony ſuche money to hym due And this lyar coude not brynge no wytneſſis/ but began to braye. crye and deffame the ſaid albert And than this Albert callid to hym this marchaũt and ſayd/ Dere frende take here v. honderd florins whyche thou affermeſt and ſayſt that thou haſt deliuerid to me And forthwyth tolde hem and toke hem to hym And lo this good man had leuer to loſe his good than his good name and renome And this other marchant toke theſe florins that he had wrongfully receyuyd/ and enployed them in diuerce marchandiſe in ſo moche that he gate and encreſid and wan with them .xv. thouſand florins And whan he ſawe that he approchid toward his deth/ and that he had no children He eſtabliſshid albert his heyr in alle thingis And ſayd that with the .v. honderd florins that he had receyuyd of albert falſely/ he had goten all y^{t} he had in the world And thus by dyuyne pourueance he that had be a theef fraudelent/ was made afterward a trewe procurour and attorney of the ſayd albert/ But now in this dayes ther ben marchaũs that do marchandiſe with other mens money whiche is taken to hem to kepe/ And whan

they ben requyred to repaye hit they haue no ſhame to denye hit appertly/ wherof hit happend that ther was a marchant whyche had a good & grete name and renome of kepynge well ſuche thynges as was delyueryd to hym to kepe/ But whan he ſawe place and tyme/ he reteynyd hyt lyke a theef/ So hyt befelle that a marchant of withoute forth herd the good reporte & fame of this man/ cam to hym and deliuerid hym grete treſour to kepe/ And this treſour abode thre yer in his kepynge. And after this thre yer thys marchant cam & requyred to haue hys good deliueryd to hym agaym/ And thys man knewe well that he had no recorde ne wytnes to preue on hym this duete/ Nor he had no obligacion ne wrytynge of hym therof/ In ſuche wyſe that he denyed alle entyerly/ And ſayd playnly he knewe hym not. And whan thys good man herde and vnderſtode thys. he wente ſorowfully and wepynge from hym ſo ferre and longe that an old woman mette wyth hym/ And demanded of hym the cauſe of hys wepynge/ And he ſayd to her/ woman hit apperteyneth no thynge to the Go thy way/ And ſhe prayd hym that he wold telle her the cauſe of hys ſorowe/ For parauenture ſhe myght gyue hym counceylle good and prouffytable. And than this man told to her by ordre the caas of his fortune/ And the old woman that was wyſe & ſubtyll demanded of hym yf he had in that cyte ony frende whiche wold be faythfull and trewe to hym And he ſayd ye that he had dyuerce frendes/ Than ſaid ſhe goo thou to them and ſaye to them that they do ordeyne and bye dyuerce cofres & cheſtis/

his clerck/ and bad hym goo fecche ſuche a thynge in ſuche a place/ and deliuere hit to that good man For he deliuerid hit to me/ And than the good man receyuyd his good. And wente his way right Ioyouſly and gladd/ And this marchant trycheur and deceyuour was defrauded from his euyll malice/ And he ne had neyther that one ne that other ony thynge that was of value/ And therfore hit Is ſayd in prouerbe to defraude the beguylar is no fraude/ And he that doth well foloweth oure lord And ſeneke faith that charyte enſeygneth and techeth that men ſhold paye well For good payement is ſometyme good confeſſion/ And this marchant trycheour & deceyuour reſembleth & Is lyke to an hound that bereth a cheſe in his mouth whan he ſwymmeth ouer a watre For whan he is on the watre He ſeeth the ſhadowe of the cheſe in the watre/ And than he weneth hit be an other cheſe/ And for couetyſe to haue that/ he openth his mouth to cacche that/ And than the cheſe that he bare fallyth doun in to the watre/ And thus he loſeth bothe two/ And in the ſame wiſe was ſeruyd this marchant deceyuour/ For for to haue the coffres/ whiche he had not ſeen/ He deliueryd agayn that he wold haue holden wrongfully & thus by his couetiſe and propre malice he was deceyuyd/ And therfore hit apperteyneth to euery good & wyſe man to knowe & conſidere in hym ſelf how moche he had reſſeyuyd of other men/ And vpon what condicion hit was deliuerid to hym And hit is to wete y^{t} this thinge apperteyneth to reſſeyuours & to chaungeours And to alle true marchans and other

what ſom euyr they bee/ and ought to kepe their bookes of reſaytes & of payements of whom & to whom and what tyme & day. and yf ye demande what thynge makyth them to forgete ſuche thynges as ben taken to them to kepe I anſwere & ſaye that hyt Is grete couetyſe for to haue tho thynges to themſelf and neuer to departe from them/ And it is all her thought and deſire to aſſemble alle the good that they may gete For they beleue on none other god/ but on her richeſſis theyr hertes ben ſo obſtynat/ and this ſufficeth of the marchantes.

This fyfth chapitre of the thirde book treteth of phiſiciens ſpicers and Apotyquarys.

THE pawōn that is ſette to fore the quene ſignefyeth the phiſicyen/ ſpicer and Apotyquaire/ and is formed in the figure of a man/ And he is ſette in a chayer as a mayſtre and holdeth in his right hand a book/ And an ample or a boxe wyth oynementis in his lyft hand/ And at his gurdell his Inſtrumentis of yron and of ſiluer for to make Incyſions and to ſerche woundes and hurtes/ and to cutte apoſtumes/ And by thyſe thynges ben knowen the cyrurgyens/ By the book ben vnderſtanden the phiſicyens/ and alle gramaryens. logicyens/

maiſtres of lawe. of Geometrye. Ariſmetryque. muſique and of aſtronomye/ And by the ampole/ ben ſignefyed the makers of pigmentaries spicers and apotiquayres/ and they that make confections and confytes and medecynes made wyth precyous spyces And by the ferremens and Intrumentis that hangen on the gurdell ben ſignefied the cyrurgyens & the maiſtres And knowe ye for certain that a mayſtre & phiſicyen ought to knowe the proporcions of lettres of gramayre/ the monemens the concluſions and the ſophyms of logyque. the gracio⁹ ſpeche and vtterance of rethorique/ the meſures of the houres and dayes/ and of the cours and aſtronomye/ the nombre of arſmetryk/ & the Ioyous ſonges of muſyque And of all thyſe tofore named/ the maiſtres of rethorique ben the chyef maiſtres in ſpeculatyf/ And the two laſte that ben practiſiens and werkers ben callyd phiſicyens and cyrurgyens/ how well they ben ſage and curyous in thyſe ſciences/ And how well that mannes lyf is otherwhile put in thordonance of the phiſicyen or cyrurgyen/ yf he haue not ſageſſe and wyſedom in hym ſelf of dyuerce wrytynges and is not expert/ And medlyth hym in the craft of phiſique/ He ought better be callyd a ſlear of peple than a phiſicyen or cyrurgyen. For he may not be a mayſtre but yf he be ſeure and expert in the craft of phiſike that he ſle not moo than he cureth and maketh hoole/ And therfore ſayth Auycenne in an Enphormye/ yf thou cureſt the ſeke man. And knoweſt not the cauſe/ wherof the maladye ought to be cured/ Hit ought to be ſayd that thou haſt cured hym by fortune and happe

natly/ but that ryght chaſte man/ made neuer ſemblant to her/ Ner he neuer remeuyd from his ferme purpoos/ In ſuche wyſe as ſhe departid from hym alle confuſid and ſhamed/ Cornelius ſcipion that was ſent by the romayns for to gouerne ſpayne/ as ſone as he entryd in to the caſtellis & in to the townes of that lande He began to take away all the thynges that miht ſtyre or meue his men to lecherye wherfore men ſayd that he drof & chaced oute of the oſte moo than two thouſand bourdellys/ And he that was wyſe knewe well that delyte of lecherye corrupted and apayred the corages of tho men that ben abandonned to that ſame delyte/ And herof hit is ſayd in the fables of the poetes in the firſt book of the Truphes of the Philoſophers by figure. That they that entryd in to the fontayne of the ſirenes or mermaydens/ were corrumpid and they toke them away with hem/ And alſo ye ought to knowe that they ought to entende diligently to the cures of the enfermytees in cyrugerye/ They ought to make theyr playſters acordynge to the woundes or ſores/ yf the wounde be rounde The enplaſtre muſt be round/ and yf hyt be longe/ hyt muſte be longe/ and otherwhile hit muſte be cured by his contrarye/ lyke as it apperteyneth to phiſique/ For the hete is cured by cold/ and the colde by hete/ and Ioye by ſorowe/ and ſorowe by Ioye/ and hit happeth ofte tymes that moche peple be in grete paryll in takynge to moche Ioye and leſe her membris/ and become half benomen in the ſodayn Ioye/ And Ioye is a repleƈtion of thynge that is deleƈtable ſprad a brode in all the membris with right grete gladnes

And all men entende and deſire to haue the ſayd ryght grete Ioye naturelly/ But they knowe not what may enſue and come therof And this Ioye cometh otherwhile of vertue of conſcience/ And the wyſe man is not wyth out this Ioye And this Ioye is neuer Interrupt ne in deffaulte at no tyme For hit cometh of nature And fortune may not take a waye that nature geueth. And merciall ſaith that Ioyes fugitiues abide not longe But flee away anõn And valerian reherceth that he that hath force and ſtrengthe rayſonable/ hath hit of verray matier of complection and that cometh of loue And this Ioye hath as moche power to departe the ſowle fro the body/ as hath the thondre/ wherof hit happend that ther was a woman named lyna whiche had her huſbonde in the warre in the ſhippis of the romayns/ And ſhe ſuppoſid verily that he was ded/ But hit happend that he cam agayn home And as he entryd in to his yate/ his wif met wyth hym ſodeynly not warned of his comyng. whiche was ſo glad and Ioyous/ that in enbraſynge hym ſhe fyll doun ded Alſo of an other woman to whom was reportid by a fals meſſanger that her ſone was ded/ whiche wente home ſoroufully to her hows/ And afterward whan her ſone cam to her/ As ſone as ſhe ſawe hym/ ſhe was ſo eſmoued wyth Ioye y^{t} ſhe deyde to fore hym/ But this is not ſo grete meruaylle of women as is of the men/ For the women ben likened vnto ſofte waxe or ſofte ayer and therfor ſhe is callid mulier whyche Is as moche to ſaye in latyn as mollys aer. And in engliſh ſoyfte ayer/ And it happeth ofte tymes that the nature of them that ben ſofte and

mole/ taketh ſonner Inpreſſion than the nature of men that is rude and ſtronge/ Valerye reherceth & ſayth that a knyght of rome named Inſtauloſus that had newly conquerid and ſubiuged the yle of Corſika/ And as he ſacrefyed his goddes/ he receyuyd lettres from the ſenate of rome In whiche were conteyned dyuerſe ſupplicacyons/ The whiche whan he vnderſtood he was ſo glad and ſo enterpryſed wyth Ioye/ that he knewe not what to doo And than a great fumee or ſmoke yſſued out of the fyre In whiche he diſpayred and fyll in to the fyre/ where he was anone ded/ And alſo it is ſayd that Philomenus lawhed ſo ſore and diſtemperatly that he deyde alle lawhynge/ And we rede that ypocras the phiſicien fonde remedye for thys Ioye/ For whan he had longe dwellyd oute of his contreye for to lerne connynge and wyſedom/ And ſhold retorne vnto his parentis and frendes/ whan he approchid nyghe them/ He ſente a meſſanger to fore for to telle to them his comynge/ and comanded hym to ſaye that he cam/ for they had not longe to fore ſeen hym/ And y^{t} they ſhold attempre them in that Ioye er they ſhold ſee hym/ And alſo we rede that Titus the ſone of vaſpaſian whan he had conquerd Iheruſalem and abode in y^{e} contrees by/ he herde y^{t} his fader vaſpaſian was choſen by alle the ſenate for to gouerne the empire of rome/ wherfore he had ſo right grete Ioye that ſodaynly he loſte the ſtrength of all his membres And be cam all Impotent And whan Ioſephus that made the hiſtorye of the romayns ayenſt the Iewis/ whiche was a ryght wyſe phiſicien ſawe and knewe the cauſe of

this ſekenes of the ſayd Titus/ he enquyred of his folk yf he had in hate ony man gretly ſo moche that he myght not here ſpeke of hym ner well ſee hym And one of the ſeruantes of Titus ſayd that he had one perſone in hate ſo moche. That ther was no man in his court ſo hardy that durſte name hym in his preſence/ and than Ioſephus aſſigned a day whan this man ſhold come/ and ordeyned a table to ſette in y^e^ ſight of Titus/ and dide hit to be replenyſshid plenteouſly wyth alle dayntees/ and ordeyned men to be armed to kepe hym in ſuche wyſe that no man ſhold hurte hym by the comandement of Titus/ and ordeyned boutellers. Coques/ and other officers for to ſerue hym worſhipfully lyke an Empour/ and whan all this was redy/ Ioſephus brought in this man that tytus hated and ſette hym at the table to fore his eyen and was ſeruyd of yonge men wyth grete reuerence ryght cortoiſly/ And whan titus behelde his enemye ſette to fore hym wyth ſo grete honour/ He began to chauffe hym ſelf by grete felonnye And comanded his men that this man ſholde be ſlayn/ And whan he ſawe/ that none wold obeye hym But that they all way ſeruyd hym reuerently/ he waxe ſo ardante/ and enbraſid wyth ſo grete yre/ that he that had loſt alle the force and ſtrengthe of his body and was alle Impotent in alle his membres/ Recoured the helthe agayn and ſtrengthe of his membris/ by the hete that entryd in to the vaynes and ſinewis And Ioſephus dide ſo moche that he was recouerid and hole/ And that he helde that man no more for his enemye/ but helde hym for a verray true frende/

And afterward made hym his loyall felawe and compaignon And the eſpicers and Apotecayres ought to make truly ſuche thynges as Is comanded to them by the phyſicyens/ And they ought tacompliſshe theyr billis and charge curyouſly wyth grete dilygence/ that for none other cauſe they ſhold be ocupied but in makynge medicynes or confections truly. And that they ought vpon paryll of theyr ſowle not to forgete/ by negligence ne recheleſnes to gyue one medecyne for an other/ In ſuche wyſe that they be not ſlears of men/ And that they do putte no falſe thynges In her ſpyces for to empayre or encrecynge the weyght. For yf they ſo doo they may better be callyd theuys than eſpiciers or apotecayris/ And they that ben acuſtomed to make oynements they ought to make hyt proprely of true ſtuf and of good odoure after the receptes of the auncyent doctours/ And after the forme that the phificyens and cyrurgyens deuyſe vnto them/ Alſo they ought to beware that for none auayle ne gyfte that they myght haue/ that they put in theyr medicynes no thynge venemous ner doynge hurte or ſcathe to ony perſone of whom they haue none good ne veray knowlege/ to thende that they to whom the medicynes ſhold be gyuen/ torne not to them hurte ne domage/ ne in deſtructions of theyr neyghbours/ and alſo that they that haue mynyſtrid tho thyngis to them/ ben not taken for parteners of the blame and of the ſynne of them The cyrurgyens ought alſo to be debonayr. amyable. & to haue pytye of their pacyents. And alſo they ought not be haſty to launſe and cutte apoſ-

tumes and ſoores/ ne open the heedes/ ner to arrache bones broken/ but yf the cauſe be apparant/ For they myght ellys loſe theyr good renome And myght better be callyd bouchers than helars or guariſshors of woundes and ſoores And alſo hit behoueth that alle this maner of peple foreſayd that haue the charge for to make hole and guariſshe alle maner of maladyes and Infirmitees that they firſt haue the cure of themſelf/ and they ought to purge themſelf fro alle apoſtumes and alle vices/ In ſuche wyſe that they be net and honeſte and enformed in alle good maners/ And that they ſhewe hem hole and pure & redy for to hele other And herof ſayth Boecius de Conſolacione In his firſt booke that the ſterres that ben hid vnder the clowdes maye gyue no light. And therfore yf ony man wole beholde clerly the verite. Late hym wythdrawe hym fro the obſcurete and derkenes of the clowdes of ignorance/ for whan the engyne of a man ſheweth in Ioye or in ſorowe/ The penſee or thought is enuoluped in obſcurete & vnder the clowdes.

The ſixthe chapitre of the thirde booke treteth of the ſixth pawn/ whiche is lykened to tauerners hoſtelers and vitayllers.

THE ſixthe pawn whiche ſtandeth to fore the Alphyn on the lyfte ſyde is made in thys forme. For hit is a man that hath the right hande ſtracched oute as for to calle men/ And holdeth in his lyfte hande a loof of breed and a cuppe of wyn/ And on his gurdell hangynge a boudell of keyes/ And this reſembleth the Tauerners. hoſtelers. and ſellars of vitaylle. And thiſe ought proprely to be ſette to fore the/ Alphyn as to fore a Iuge For ther ſourdeth ofte tymes amonge hem contencion noyſe and

ſtryf/ whiche behoueth to be determyned and trayted by the alphyn/ whiche is Iuge of the kynge/ And hit apperteyneth to them for to ſeke and enquyre for good wyns and good vitayll for to gyue and ſelle to the byers/ And to them that they herberowe/ And hit apperteyneth to them well to kepe their herberowes and Innes/ and alle tho thyngis that they brynge in to their loggynge and for to putte hyt in ſeure and ſauf warde and kepynge/ And the firſte of them Is ſignefyed by the lyfte hande in whiche he bereth brede and wyn/ and the ſeconde is ſignefied by the right hande whiche Is ſtracched oute to calle men/ And the thirde is repreſentid by the keyes hangynge on y^e^ gurdell And thyſe maner of peple ought teſchewe the ſynne of glotonye/ For moche peple comen in to theyr howſes for to drynke and to ete for whyche cauſe they ought reſonably to rewle them ſelf and to refrayne them from to moche mete and drynke/ to thende that they myght the more honeſtly delyuere thyngis nedefull vnto the peple that come vnto them/ And no thynge by oultrage that myght noye the body/ For hit happeth ofte tymes that ther cometh of glotonye tencyons. ſtryſs. ryottes. wronges. and moleſtacyons/ by whiche men leſe other while their handes. theyr eyen. and other of their membres/ And ſomtyme ben ſlayn or hurt vnto the deth/ As it is wreton In vitas patrum As on a tyme an heremyte wente for to viſite his goſſibs/ And the deuyll apperyd to hym on the waye in lykenes of an other heremyte for to tempte hym/ and ſaide thou haſt lefte thyn heremitage And gooſt to viſyte

thy goſſibs/ The behoueth by force to doo one of y^e^ thre thynges that I ſhall ſaye to the/ thou ſhalt cheſe whether thou wylt be dronke/ or ellys haue to do fleſſly wyth thy goſſib or ellys thou ſhalt ſle her huſbond whiche is thy goſſip alſo/ And the hermyte that thought for to cheſe the leſte euyll chace for to be dronke/ and whan he cam vnto them he dranke ſo moche that he was veray dronke And whan he was dronke and eſchauffed wyth the wyn/ he wold haue a doo wyth hys goſſib/ And her huſbonde withſtode hym. And than the hermyte ſlewe hym/ And after that laye by his goſſib and knewe her fleſſly/ And thus by this ſynne of dronkenſhip he accompliſshid the two other ſynnes/ By whyche thynge ye may vnderſtande and knowe y^t^ whan the deuyll wyll take one of the caſtellis of Iheſu cryſt/ that is to wete the body of a man or of a woman/ he doth as a prynce that ſetteth a ſiege to fore a caſtell that he wold wynne/ whiche entēdeth to wynne the gate/ For he knoweth well whan he hath wonne the gate/ he may ſone doo hys wylle wyth the caſtell. And in lyke wyſe doth the deuyll wyth euery man and woman For whan he hathe wonne the gate/ that is to wete the gate of y^e^ mouth by glotonye or by other ſynne He may doo wyth the offices of the body alle his wylle as ye haue herd to fore/ And therfore ought euery man ete and drynke ſobrely in ſuche wyſe as he may lyue. And not lyue to ete glotonſly & for to drynke dronke. ye ſee comunly that a grete bole is ſuffiſid wyth right a lityll paſture/ And that a wode ſuffiſeth to many olefauntes And hit be-

houeth a man to be fedde by the erthe or by the ſee/ neuertheles it is no grete thynge to fede the bely/ no thynge ſo grete as is the deſire of many metes Wherof Quyntylian ſayth/ That hit happeth ofte tymes in grete feſtes & dyners/ that we be fylde wyth the ſight of the noble and lichorous metis and whan we wolde ete we ben ſaciat and fild/ And therfore hit is ſayd in prouerbe/ hit is better to fylle the bely than the eye/ And lucan ſayth that glotonye is the moder of alle vices/ and eſpeciall of lecherye/ and alſo is deſtroyer of all goodes And may not haue ſuffiſance of lityll thynge/ A couetous honger what ſekeſt thou mete and vitayllis on the lande & in the ſee/ And thy Ioye is nothynge ellis but to haue playnteuous diſshes & well fylde at thy table lerne how men may demene his lyf with lityll thynge/ And Cathon ſayth in no wyſe obeye to glotonye whiche is frende to lecherye/ And the holy doctour ſaynt Auguſtyn ſayth/ the wyn eſchauffeth the bely that falleth anone to lecherye/ The bely and the membrers engendreurs ben neyghebours to lecherye/ And thus the vice of glotonye prouoketh lecherye/ wherof cometh forgetenes of his mynde and deſtruction of alle quyk and ſharp reſon And is cauſe of distempance of his wittes/ what ſynne is fowler than this ſynne and more ſtynkynge ne more domageous For this ſynne hath taken away the vertue of the man/ his proweſſe languiſshed/ his vertue is torned to diffame/ the ſtrengthe of body and of corage is torned by the/ And therfore ſayth Baſille le grant/ late vs take hede how we

ſerue the bely & the throte by glotonye lyke as we were dombe beſtes/ and we ſtudye for to be lyke vnto belues of the ſee/ to whom nature hath gyuen to be alleway enclined toward the erthe & ther to loke for to ſerue theyr belyes/ And herof ſaith Boecius de conſolacione in his fourth book/ that a man that lyuyth and doth not the condicions of a man/ may neuer be in good condicion/ Than muſte hit nedes be that he be tranſported in nature of a beſte or of a belue of the ſee. How well that ryght grete men and women full of meruayllous ſciences and noble counceyll in thiſe dayes in the world ben kept and nouriſshid in this glotonye of wyns and metes/ and ofte tymes ben ouerſeen/ how ſuppoſe ye/ is hit not right a perillous thinge that a lord or gouernour of the peple and cōmun wele/ how well that he be wyſe/ yf he eſchauffe hym ſone ſo that y^e^ wyn or other drynke ſurpryſe hym and ouercome his brayn. his wiſedom is loſte/ For as Cathon ſayth/ Ire enpeſsheth the corage in ſuche as he may not kepe verite and trouthe And anon as he is chauffed/ lecherye is meuyd in hym in ſuche wyſe that the lecherye maketh hym to medle in dyuerſe villayns dedes/ For than his wyſedom is a ſlepe and goon/ And therfore ſayth Ouide in his booke De remedio amoris/ yf thou take many and dyuerce wyns/ they apparylle and enforce the corages to lecherye And Thobie witneſſith in his booke/ that luxurye deſtroyeth the body/ and mynuſsheth richeſſes/ ſhe loſeth the ſowle/ ſhe febleth y^e^ ſtrengthe ſhe blyndeth the ſyght/ and maketh the wys hoos & rawe/ Ha A

ryght euyll and fowle ſynne of dronkenſhip/ by the periſsheth virginite/ whiche is ſuſter of angellis poſſedynge alle goodnes and ſeurte of all Ioyes pardurable/ Noe was one tyme ſo chauffed with wyn/ that he discouerd and ſhewid to his ſones his preuy membres in ſuche wyſe as one of his ſones mocqued hym/ And that other couerd hem/ And loth whiche was a man right chaſte. was ſo aſſoted by moche drynkynge of wyn/ that on a montayne he knew his doughters carnelly/ And had to doo wyth them as they had ben his propre wyues. And crete reherceth that boece whiche was flour of the men/ treſor of rycheſſes/ ſinguler houſe of ſapience myrour of the world/ Odour of good renome/ and glorye of his ſubgettis loſte alle thyſe thynges by his luxurye We haue ſeen that dyuerce that were Ioyned by grete amyte to geder whiles they were ſobre/ that that one wolde put his body in paryll of deth for that other/ and whan they were eſchauffed with wyn & dronke/ they haue ronne eche vpon other for to ſle hem/ And ſomme haue ben that haue ſlayn ſo his frende/ Herodes Antipas had not doon ſaynt Iohn baptiſt to ben beheded/ ne had y^e^ dyner ben full of glotonye and dronken-ſhip/ Balthazar kynge of babilone had not ben chaced out of his kyngdom ne be ſlayn yf he had ben ſobre amonge his peple whom tyrus and dares fonde dronken and ſlewe hym The hoſtelers ought to be well beſpoken and courtoys of wordes to them that they receyue in to their loggynge For fayr ſpeche & Ioyous chiere & debonayr/ cauſe men to gyue the hoſtelyer a good name/ And therfore

it is ſaid in a comyn prouerbe/ Courtoyſe langage and well ſaynge is moche worth and coſte lityll/ And in an other place it is ſaid that curtoyſie paſſeth beaulte/ Alſo for as moche as many paryls and aduentures may happen on the wayes and paſſages to hem that ben herberowed with in their Innes/ therfore they ought to accompanye them whan they departe and enſeigne them the wayes and telle to them the paryls/ to thende that they may ſurely goo theyr viage and Iourney/ And alſo they ought to kepe their bodies. their goodes. And the good fame and renomee of their Innes/ we rede that loth whan he had receyuyd y^{e} angels in to his hous right debonairly whiche he had ſuppoſid had ben mortall men and ſtraũgers/ to thende that they ſhold eſkape the diſordinate and vnnaturell ſynne of lecherye of the ſodamites/ by the vertu of good fayth/ he ſette a part the naturell loue of a fader/ and proferd to them his doughters whiche were virgyns/ to thende that they ſhold kepe them and defende them fro that vyllayne and horrible ſynne/ And knowe ye for certayn that alle tho thynges that ben taken and delyueryd to kepe to the hoſte or hoſteſſes they ought to be ſauf and yelden agayn wyth out a payringe For the ooſte ought to knowe/ who that entryth in to his hous for to be herberowhed taketh hit for his habitacion for the tyme/ he hymſelf and alle ſuche thynges as he bryngeth wyth hym ben cõmyſed of ryght in the warde and kepynge of the hooſt or hoſteler And ought to be as ſauf as they were put in his owen propre hous And alſo ſuche hooſtis ought to hold ſeruantes in

their houſes whiche ſhold be trewe and wyth oute auarice In ſuche wiſe that they coueyte not to haue the goodes of their gheſtes And that they take not away the prouender fro theyr horſes whan hyt is gyuen to them/ that by thoccaſion therof theyr horſis periſshe not ne faylle theyr maiſter whan they haue nede/ and myght falle in the handes of theyr enemyes/ For than ſholde the ſeruantes becauſe of that euyll/ wherfore theyr maiſters ſhold ſee to For wyth oute doubte this thynge is worſe than thefte Hit happend on a tyme in the parties of lomberdye in the cyte of Iene y^{t} a noble man was logged in an hoſtelerye wyth moche compaignye/ And whan they had gyuen prouendour to their horſes/ In the firſt oure of the nyght. the ſeruant of the hous cam ſecretly to fore y^{e} horſes for to ſtele away their prouender/ And whan he cam to the lordes hors/ The hors caught wyth his teth his Arme and helde hit faſte that he myght not eſcape/ And whan the theef ſawe that he was ſo ſtrongly holden/ he began to crye for the grete payne that he ſuffryd and felte/ In ſuche wyſe that the noble mannes meyne cam with the hooſte/ But in no maner/ ner for ought they coude doo They coude not take the theef out of the horſes mouth vnto the tyme that the neyghbours whiche were noyed wyth the noyſe cam and ſawe hit/ And than the theef was knowen and taken and brought to fore the Iuge And confeſſid the feet and by ſentence diffinytyf was hanged and loſt his lyf/ And in the ſame wyſe was an other that dyde ſo/ And the hors ſmote hym in the

viſage/ That the prynte of the horſe ſhoo and nayles abode euer in his viſage/ Another was right cruell and villaynous fylle at tholouſe/ Hit happend a Ionge man and his fader wente a pilgremage to ſaynt Iames in Galyce And were logged in an hoſtelrye of an euyll hooſt and full of right grete couetyſe/ In ſo moche that he deſired and coueyted the goodes of the two pilgrimes And here vpon auyſed hym and put a cuppe of ſiluer ſecretly in the male that the yonge man bare/ And whan they departed oute of their loggynge/ he folowed after hem and ſayd to fore the peple of the court that they had ſtolen and born away his cuppe/ And the yonge man excuſed hym ſelfe and his fader/ And ſayde they were Innocent of that caas/ And than they ſerchid hem and the cuppe was founden in y^e^ male of the yonge man And forthwyth he was dampned to the deth and hanged as a theef/ and this feet doon all the goodes that langed to the pilgrym were deliuerid to y^e^ ooſt as cõfiſqued And than the fader wente for to do his pilgremage/ and whan he cam agayn he muſte nedes come & paſſe by the place where his ſone henge on the gibet And as he cam he complaygned to god and to ſaynt Iames how they might ſuffre this auenture to come vnto his ſone/ Anone his ſone that henge ſpack to his fader And ſayde how that ſaynt Iames had kepte hym with out harme And bad his fader goo to the Iuge and ſhewe to hym the myracle/ And how he was Innocent of thot fayte/ And whan this thynge was knowen the ſone of the pilgryme was taken down fro y^e^ gibet/ and the cauſe was

brought to fore the Iuge And the hooſte was accuſed of the trayſon/ and he confeſſid his treſpaas/ and ſayd he dide hit for couetyſe to haue his good And than the Iuge dampned hym for to be hanged on the ſame gibet where as the yonge pilgryme was hanged And that I haue ſayd of the ſeruantes beynge men/ the ſame I ſaye of the women as chambriers and tapſters For ſemblable caas fille in ſpayne at ſaynt donne of a chamberier/ that put a cup in lyke wyſe in the ſcrippe of a pilgryme/ be cauſe he wold not haue a doo wyth her in the ſynne of lecherye/ wherfore he was hanged And his fader & moder that were there with hym wente and dyde her pilgremage/ And whan they cam agayn they fonde her ſone lyuynge/ And than they wente and told the Iuge/ whiche Iuge ſayd that he wolde not byleue hit tyll a cok and an henne which roſted on the fyre were a lyue & the cok crewe. And anon they began wexe a lyue & the cok crewe and began to crowe and to paſture/ and whan the Iuge ſawe this miracle/ he wente and toke doun the ſone/ and made the chamberyer to be taken and to be hanged/ wherfore I ſaye that the hooſtes ought to hold no tapſters ne chamberyers/ but yf they were good meure and honeſte/ For many harmes may be falle and come by the disordenat rewle of ſeruantes.

The ſeventh chapitre of the thirde Tractate treteth of kepars of townes cuſtomers and tolle gaderers &c.

THE gardes and kepars of of cytees ben ſignefied by the .vii. pawn whiche ſtondeth in the lyfte ſide to fore the knyght/ And is formed in the ſemblance of a man holdynge in his right hande grete keyes And in his lifte hande a potte & an elle for to meſure with And ought to haue on hys gurdell a purſe open/ And by the keyes ben ſignefyed the kepars of the cytees and townes and comyn offices/ And by the potte and elle ben ſignefyed them that haue the charge to weye and mete & meſure truly And by the purſe ben ſignefyed them that reſeyue

the coſtumes. tolles. ſcawage. peages/ and duetes of the cytees & townes And thyſe peple ben ſette by ryght to fore the knyght/ And hit behoueth that the gardes and offycers of the townes be taught And enſeygned by the knyghtes/ And that they knowe and enquyre how y^e^ cytees or townes ben gouerned/ whiche apperteyneth to be kept and defended by the knyghtes. And firſt hit apperteyneth that the kepars of the cyte be dilygente. beſy. clere ſeeynge and louers of the comyn prouffit & wele/ as well in the tyme of pees as in the tyme of warre/ They ought allewaye to goo in the cyte and enquyre of all thynges and ought rapporte to the gouernours of the cyte ſuche thynge as they fynde and knowe And ſuche thynge as apperteyneth and to the ſeuerte of the ſame/ and to denõnce and telle the defaultes and paryls that ther bee/ And yf hit be in tyme of warre they ought not to open the yates by nyght to no man/ And ſuche men as ben put in this office/ ought to be of good renome. & fame. trewe. and of good conſcience/ In ſuche maner that they loue them of the Cyte or town/ And that they put to no man ony blame or vilanye with out cauſe by enuye. Couetyſe ne by hate/ but they ought to be ſory and heuy whan they ſee that ony man ſhold be complayned on for ony cauſe. For hit happeth ofte tymes that diuerce officers accuſe the good peple fraudulently/ To thende that they myght haue a thanke & be preyſed and to abide ſtille in theyr offices And trewly hit is a grete and hye maner of malyce to be in will to doo euyll and diffame other wyth oute cauſe to gete

glorie to hymſelf Alſo the kepars and officers of cytees ought to be ſuche that they ſuffre no wronges ne vylonyes to fore the Iuges and gouernours of cytees wyth out cauſe to be doon to them that ben Innocents/ but they ought to haue theyr eyen and regarde vnto hym/ that knoweth the hertes and thoughtes of alle men/ And they ought to drede & doubte hym wyth oute whos grace theyr wacche and kepynge is nought And that promyſeth to them that doubte hym ſhall be ewrous & happy/ And by hym ben alle thynges accompliſſhid in good/ Hit is founden in the hiſtoryes of rome that Temperour Frederik the ſeconde dide do make a gate of marble of meruayllous werke and entayll in the cyte of capnane vpon the watre that renneth aboute the ſame/ and vpon this yate he made an ymage lyke hymſelf ſittynge in his mageſte/ and two Iuges whiche were ſette/ one on the right ſide and that other on the lifte ſide. And vpon the ſercle aboue the hede of the Iuge on y^e^ ryght ſide was wreton/ Alle they entre ſeurly that will liue purely/ And vpon the ſercle of the Iuge on the lifte ſide was wreton The vntrewe man ought to doubte/ to doo thynge that he be put to priſon fore/ and on the ſercle aboue thempour was wreton/ I make them live in miſery/ that I ſee lyue diſmeſurably/ And therfore hit apperteyneth to a Iuge to ſhewe to the peple for to drede and doubte to doo eyull/ And hit apperteyneth to the gardes and officers to doubte the Iuges and to do trewly their ſeruyces and offices And hit apperteyneth to a prynce to menace the traytours and the male-

factours of right greuous paynes. And herof we fynde in the auncyent hiſtoryes of cecylle that the kynge denys had a broder whom he louyd ſore well/ But allway where he wente he made heuy and tryſte ſemblant/ And thus as they wente bothe to gyder on a tyme in a chare/ ther cam agayn hem two poure men wyth glad viſage but in foule habite/ And y^e^ kynge anon as he ſawe them/ ſprange out of his chare and reſſeyuyd them worſhipfully with grete reuerence/ wherfore his barons were not only ameruaylled but alſo angry in their corages/ notwithſtandynge fere and drede letted them to demande hym the cauſe/ But they made his broder to demande the cauſe and to knowe the certaynte/ And whan he had herde his broder ſaye to hym the demande/ and that he was bleſſyd & alſo a kynge whiche was ryche and full of delites & worſhipis/ he demanded hym yf he wold aſſaye & knowe the grace and beneurte of a kynge And his broder anſwerd ye/ And that he deſired and requyred hit of hym/ and than the kinge comanded vnto alle his ſugettis that they ſhold obeye in alle thynges only vnto his broder And than whan the oure of dyner cam and alle thynge was redy/ the broder was ſette at the table of the kynge And whan he ſawe that he was ſeruyd wyth right noble botelliers and other officers. And he herde the ſownes of muſicque right melodious The kynge demanded hym than/ yf he ſuppoſid y^t^ he were benerous and bleſſid. And he anſwerd I wene well that I am right well bleſſid and fortunat/ and that I haue well proued and fele and am expert therof

And than the kynge ſecretly made to be hanged ouer his heed a ſharp cuttynge ſwerde hangynge by an hors heer or a ſilken threde ſo ſmall that no man myght ſee hit where by hit henge/ and whan he ſawe his broder put no more his hand to the table/ ne had no more regarde vnto his ſeruantes/ he ſayd to hym why ete ye not/ ar ye not bleſſid/ ſaye yf ye fele ony thynge otherwyſe than bleſſid and well/ And he anſwerde for as moche as I ſee this ſharp ſwerde hangynge ſo ſubtilly and parillouſly ouer my hede I fele well that I am not bleſſid for I drede that hit ſhold falle on my hede/ and than diſcouerd the kynge vnto hem alle wherfore he was allway ſo heuy cherid and triſte For where he was/ he thought alleway on the ſwerde of the ſecrete vengeance of god/ whiche he behelde alleway in his herte/ wherfore he had all way in hymſelf grete drede And therfore he worſhipid gladly the poure peple wyth glad viſage and good conſcience And by this ſheweth the kynge well/ that what man that is all way in drede is not all way mery or bleſſid. And herof ſayth Quyntilian that this drede ſurmounteth alle other maleurtees and euyllys/ For it is maleurte of drede nyght and day/ And it is verite that to hym that Is doubtid of moche peple/ ſo muſte he doubte moche/ And that lord is laſſe than hys ſeruantes that dredeth hys ſeruantes/ And truly hit Is a ryght ſure thynge to drede no thinge but god/ And ſumtyme right hardy men ben conſtrayned to lyue in drede/ Drede cauſeth a man to be curyous and beſy to kepe the thynges that ben commyſed to hym that they periſshe not/ But to be to moche hardy & to

moche ferdfull/ bothe two ben vices The comyn officers ought to be wiſe. diſcrete. and well aduyſed in ſuche wyſe that they take not of y^e^ peple ne requyre no more than they ought to haue by reſon/ ne that they take of the ſellars ne of the byars no more than the right cuſtom and toll/ for they bere the name of a cōmun ꝑſone/ and therfore ought they to ſhewe them cōmune to all men/ and for as moche as the byars and ſellars haue ſomtyme moche langage/ they ought to haue with them theſe vertues/ that is to wete pacience and good corage with honeſte/ for they that ben deſpiteus to the cōmun/ ben otherwhile had in vilayns deſpite/ therfore beware y^t^ thou haue no deſpite to the poure mendicants/ yf thou wilt come and atteyne to thingis ſouerayn/ for the Iniurye that is don wyth oute cauſe/ torneth to diffame hym that doth hit/ A Iogheler on a tyme beheld ſocrates and ſayd to hym/ thou haſt the eyen of corrumpour of children & art as a traytre. And whan his diſciples herde hym/ they wold auengid their maiſter/ But he repreuyd hem by ſuche ſentence ſaynge/ Suffre my felaws for I am he and ſuche one as he ſaith/ by the ſight of my viſage/ But I refrayne and kepe me well from ſuche thynge/ This ſame ſocrates hymſelf was chidde and right fowll ſpoken to of his wyf/ and ſhe Impoſid to hym many grete Iniuries with out nombre/ and ſhe was in a place a boue ouer his heed And whan ſhe had brawlid I nowh/ ſhe made her watre and pourid hit on his heed And he anſwerd to here no thynge agayn/ ſauf whan he had dryed and wypid his heed he ſaid/ he knewe

well that after ſuche wynde and thonder ſholde comen rayn and watre And the philoſophres blamed hym that he coude not gouerne two women/ that was his wyf and his chambrere/ And ſhewde hym that one cokke gouerned well .xv. hennes He anſwerd to them that he was ſo vſed and accuſtomed wyth theyr chydynge that the chydynges of them ne of eſtrangers dyde hym no greef ne harme/ gyue thou place to hym that brawleth or chydeth/ and in ſuffrynge hym thou ſhalt be his vaynquyſshour/ And Cathon ſayth whan thou lyuyſt ryghtfully recche the not of the wordes of euyll peple/ And therfore it is ſayd in a comyn prouerbe/ he that well doth reccheth not who ſeeth hit/ & hit is not in our power to lette men to ſpeke. And proſper ſayth that to good men lacketh no goodnes/ ner to euyll men tencions ſtryfs and blames And pacience is a ryght noble vertu/ as a noble verſifier ſayth That pacience is a ryght noble maner to vaynquyſshe. For he that ſuffreth ouercometh. And yf thou wylt vaynquyſshe and ouercome/ lerne to ſuffre/ The peagers ner they that kepe paſſages ought not to take other peage ne paſſage money but ſuche as the prynce or the lawe haue eſtabliſshid/ ſo that they be not more robbeurs of moneye than reſeyuours of peage and paſſage And hit apperteyneth to them to goo out of the paryllo[9] weyes and doubteuous for to kepe their office and they ought to Requyre theyr paſſage of them that owe to paye hit wyth oute noynge and contencion/ And they ought not to loue the comyn prouffyt ſo moche/ That they falle in the hurtynge of theyr conſcience/ For that

ſhold be a manere of robberye And herof ſayth yſaye Woo to the that robbeſt/ For thou thy ſelf ſhalt be robbed/ The gardes or porters of the gates of cytees and of the comyn good ought to be good and honeſte. And alle trouthe ought to be in them and they ought not to take ne withdrawe the goodes of the comyn that they haue in kepynge/ more than apperteyneth to them for theyr penſion or ffee/ So that they that ben made treſorers and kepars ben not named theuys/ For who that taketh more than his/ He ſhall neuer thryue wyth alle/ ner ſhall not enioye hit longe/ For of euyll gooten good the thyrde heyr ſhall neuer reioyce/ And this ſuffiſith &c.

that by no neceſſite they falle in pouerte/ And that they be not conſtrayned to begge ne to ſtele of other men For he ſaith that hit is gretter ſubtilte to kepe well his owne goodes/ than to fynde ſtrange thynge/ and that it is gretter vertue to kepe that is goten than to gete and wynne more/ and claudian ſaith in like wiſe in his book that hit is a gretter thynge & better to kepe that is goten Than to gete more And therfore hit is ſayd y^{t} the poure demandeth and beggeth er he felith/ and alſo hit is ſayd that he y^{t} diſpendith more than he hath/ with oute ſtrook he is ſmyten to the deth/ Ther was a noble man named Iohn de ganazath whiche was ryght ryche/ And this man had but two doughters whom he maryed to two noble men/ And whan he had maryed them/ he loued ſo well his ſones in lawe their huſbondes/ that in ſpace & ſucceſſion of tyme/ he departed to them alle his goodes temporell/ And as longe as he gaf to them they obeyed hym & were right diligent to pleſe and ſerue hym/ ſo hit befell that on a tyme that he had alle gyuen in ſo moche that he had ryght nought/ Than hit happend that they to whom he had gyuen his goodes/ whiche were wonte to be amyable & obeyſſant to hym as longe as he gaf. Whan tyme cam that he was poure and knewe that he had not they becam unkynde Diſagreable and diſobeyſſant/ And whan the fader ſawe that he was deceyuyd by his debonayrte and loue of his doughters/ He deſired and couetyed ſore teſchewe his pouerte/ At laſte he wente to a marchant that he knewe of olde tyme. And requyred hym to lene to hym .x. thouſand

pound for to paye and rendre agayn wyth in thre dayes/ And he lente hit hym/ and whan he had brought hit in to his hows/ Hit happend that hit was a day of a ſolempne feſte/ on whiche daye he gaf to his doughters and her huſbonde a right noble dyner/ and after dyner he entrid in to his chambre ſecretly wyth them/ And drewe out of a coffre that he had do make all newe ſhettynge with iii. lockis/ the menoye that the marchant had lente hym And poured out vpon a tapyte that his doughtres and theyr huſbondes myght ſee hit/ And whan he had ſhewid hit vnto them he put hit vp agayn and put hit in to the cheſte faynynge that hit had ben all his And whan they were departed he bare the money home to the marchant that he had borowed hit of/ And the next day after his doughters and theyre huſbondes Axid of hym how moche moneye was in the cheſte that was ſhette wyth . iii . lockis/ And than he fayned and ſaide that he had therein . xxv . thouſand pound/ whiche he kepte for to make his teſtament and for to leue to his doughters and hem/ yf they wolde bere hem as well to hym ward as they dyde whan they were maried/ And than whan they herde that/ they were right Ioyous and glad And they thoughte and concluded to ſerue hym honorably as well in clothynge as in mete and drynke & of alle other thynges neceſſarye to hym vnto his ende And after this whan the ende of hym began tapproche/ he callyd his doughters and her huſbondes and ſayd to hem in thys mauere/ ye ſhall vnderſtande that the moneye that is in the cheſt ſhette vnder . iii . lockes

I wylle leue to yow Sanynge I wyll that ye gyue in my preſence er I dye whilis I lyue to the frere prechours . C . pound and to the frere menours . C . pound/ And to the heremytes of ſaynt Auguſtyn . l . pound to thende that whan I am buryed and put in the erthe ye may demande of them the keyes of y^e^ cheſte where my treſour is Inne/ whiche keyes they kepe/ and I haue put on eche keye a bille & writynge In witneſſinge of the thynges abouefayd/ And alſo ye ſhall vnderſtande that he dyde do to be gyuen whilis he laye in his deth bedde to eche churche and recluſe and to poure peple a certayn quantyte of moneye by the handes of his doughters huſbondes/ whiche they dyde gladly. In hope to haue ſhortly the money that they ſuppoſid had ben in the cheſte/ And whan hit cam to the laſt day/ that he deyde/ He was born to churche and his exequye don and was buryed ſolempnly/ And the eyght daye the ſeruyſe worſhipfully accompliſshid/ They wente for to demande the keyes of the Religious men that they had kept/ whiche were deliueryd to them/ And than they wente and opend the coffre where they ſuppoſid the money had ben Inne/ And there they fonde no thyng but a grete clubbe/ And on the the handlynge was wreton/ J Iohn of canazath make this teſtament/ that he be ſlayn wyth this clubbe/ that leuyth his own prouffit. And gyuyth hit to other/ as who ſayth hit is no wyſedom for a man to gyue his good to his children and kepe none for hym ſelf/ And ye ſhall vnderſtande that it is grete folye to diſpende and waſte his good/ In hope for to recoure hit of

other/ be hit of ſone or doughter or ryght nyghe kyn/ For aman ought to kepe in his hande in diſpendynge his owen goodes/ to fore he ſee that he dyſpende other mennys/ And he ought not to be holden for a good man/ That hath lityll renome and ſpendeth many thyngys/ And I trowe that ſuche perſones wold gladly make noueltees as for to noye and greue ſeignories and meue warres and tencions agaynſt them that habounde in rycheſſes and goodes/ And alſo make extorcyons clamours & trybulacyons ayenſt theyr lordes to thende to waſte the goodes of the peple. lyke as they haue waſted theyris And ſuche a waſtour of goodes may neuer be good for the comyn prouffit. And ye ſhall vnderſtande that after theſe waſtours of goodes we ſaye that the pleyars of dyſe and they that vſe bordellis ben worſt of alle other For whan the hete of playnge at the dyſe/ And the couetyſe of theyr ſtynkynge lecherye hath brought hem to pouerte/ hit foloweth by force that they muſte ben theuys and robbeurs And alſo dronkenſhip. glotonye. And alle maner of euyllis folowe them and myſchief/ And they folowe gladly the companyes of knyghtes and of noble men whan they goon vnto the warre or batayllis And they coueyte not ſo moche the victorye as they do the robberie And they do moche harme as they goo And they brynge lityll gayn or wynnynge/ wherof hit happend on a tyme that ſaynt bernard rode on an hors aboute in the contrey And mette wyth an haſardour or dyſeplayer/ whiche ſayd to hym/ thou goddes man wilte thou playe at dyſe wyth me thyn hors ayenſt my

ſowle/ to whom ſaynt Bernard anſwerd/ yf thou wilt oblige thy ſowle to me ayenſt my hors/ I wolle a lighte doun & playe wyth the/ and yf thou haue mo poyntes than I on thre dyſe I promyſe the thou ſhalt haue myn hors/ And than he was glad/ and anōn caſte . iii . dyſe/ And on eche dyſe was a ſyſe/ whiche made . xviii . poynts And anone he toke the hors by the brydell/ as he that was ſewr that he had wonne/ and ſaid that the hors was his And than ſaynt Bernard ſayde abyde my ſone For ther ben mo poyntes on the dyſe than . xviii . And than he caſte the dyſe/ In ſuche wyſe that one of the . iii . dyſe clefte a ſonder in the myddes/ And on that one parte was ſyſe and on that other an Aas/ And eche of that other was a ſyſe/ And than Saynt Bernard ſayde That he had wonne hys ſowle for as moche as he had caſte on thre dyſe . xix . points/ And than whan thys player ſawe and apperceyuyd thys myracle/ He gaf hys ſowle to ſaynt Bernard and be cam a monke and finyſhid his lyf in good werkes/ The corrours and berars of lettres ought haſtely and ſpedily do her viage that comanded hem/ with oute taryenge/ For their taryenge might noye and greue them that ſende hem forth/ or ellis them to whom they ben ſent too/ And torne hem to ryght grete domage or villonye/ for whiche cauſe euery noble man ought well to take hede to whom he deliuere his lettres and his mandements/ and otherwhilis ſuche peple ben Ioghelers & dronkelewe/ And goon out of their waye for to ſee abbayes and noble men for to haue auantage And hit happeth ofte tymes/ that whan ſuche meſſagers or

currours ben enpeſshid by ony taryenge/ That other currours bere lettres contrarye to his/ And come to fore hym/ of which thinges ofte tymes cometh many thinges diſcouenable of loſſe of frendes of caſtellys & of lande & many other thinges as in the feet of marchandiſe &c. And otherwhile hit happeth that a prynce for the faulte of ſuche meſſangers leſeth to haue victorye vpon hys enemyes/ And alſo ther ben ſome that whan they come in a cyte where they haue not ben to fore/ that ben more beſy to viſyte the Cyte and the noble men that dwelle theryn/ Than they ben to doo theyr voyage/ whyche thynge they ought not to doo/ But yf they had ſpecyall charge of them that ſente hem forth ſo to doo. And alſo whan they be ſente forth of ony lordes or marchauntes they ought to be well ware/ that they charge hem not wyth ouer moche mete on morenynges ne with to moche wyn on euenynges/ wherby her ſynewis and vaynes myght be greuyd/ that they muſte for faute of good rewle tarye But they ought to goo and come haſtely for to reporte to their maiſtres anſwers as hit apperteyneth And this ſuffiſen of the thynges aboue ſayd.

BOOK IV.

The fourth tractate & the laſt of the progreſſion and draughtes of the forſayd playe of the cheſſe.

The firſt chapitre of the fourth tractate of the cheſſe borde in genere how it is made.

WE haue deuiſed aboue the thinges that apperteyne vnto the formes of the cheſſe men and of theyr offices/ that is to wete as well of noble men as of the comyn peple/ than hit apperteyneth that we ſhold deuyſe ſhortly how they yſſue and goon oute of the places where they be ſette/ And firſt we ought to ſpeke of the forme and of the facion of the chequer after that hit repreſenteth and was made after/ For hyt was made after the forme of the cyte of Baby-

loyne/ In the whiche this ſame playe was founden as hit is ſayd afore/ And foure thinges The firſt is/ wher ye ſhal vnderſtande that ye ought to conſydere here in fore that . lxiiii . poyntes ben ſette in the eſchequer whiche ben alle ſquare/ The ſeconde is wherfore the bordeur aboute his hyher than the ſquarenes of the poyntes/ The thirde is wherfore the comyn peple ben ſette to fore the nobles/ The fourthe wherfore the nobles and the peples ben ſette in their propre places Ther ben as many poyntes in y^e^ eſchequer wyde as full And ye ſhall firſt vnderſtande wherfore that ther ben . lxiiii . poyntes in the eſchequer/ For as the bleſſid ſaint Iherome ſaith/ the cyte of babilone was right grete and was made alle ſquare/ and in euery quarter was . xvi . myle by nombre and meſure/ the whiche nombre foure tymes told was . lxiiii . myles/ After the maner of lombardye they be callid myles/ and in france leukes/ and in englong they be callid mylis alſo/ And for to repreſente the meſure of thys cyte/ In whiche thys playe or game was founden/ The philoſopher that fonde hit firſt ordeyned a tablier conteynyng . lxiiii . poynts ſquare/ the which ben compriſed wyth in the bordour of the tablier/ ther ben xxxii . on that on ſide & . xxxii . on that other whiche ben ordeyned for the beaulte of the playe/ and for to ſhewe the maner & drawynge of the cheſſe as hit ſhall appere in the chapitres folowynge/ and as to the ſeconde/ wherfore y^e^ bordour of theſchequyer is hyher than the table wyth in. hit is to be vnderſtande y^t^ the bordour aboute repreſenteth the walle of y^e^ cyte/ whiche is right hyghe/ And ther-

for made y^e^ philoſopher the bordour more hyghe than y^e^ tablier And as y^e^ bleſſid ſaint Iherome ſaith vpon y^e^ propheſie of yſaye/ that is to wete vpon a montayne of obſcurete. whiche wordes were ſaid of babilone whiche ſtandeth in chaldee and nothinge of that babilone that ſtondeth in egipte/ for it is ſo y^t^ babilone whiche ſtandeth in chaldee was ſette in a right grete playne/ & had ſo hyghe walles that by the heyghte of them/ was contynuell derkenes enviro̅ned & obſcurete/ that none erthely man might beholde and ſee the ende of y^e^ hyghnes of the walle/ And therfore yſaye callid hit y^e^ montaigne obſcure/ And ſaint Iherome ſayth y^t^ the meſure of the heyght of this walle was thre thouſand paas/ whiche extendeth vnto y^e^ lengthe of thre myle lombardes/ hit is to wete that lombarde mylis and engliſh myles ben of one lengthe And in one of the corners of this cyte was made a toure treangle as a ſhelde wherof the heyght extended vnto the lengthe of . vii . thouſand paas/ whiche is . vii . myle engliſh And this tour was callyd the tour of Babell/ The walles aboute the tour made a woman whos name was ſemiranus as ſayth virgilius/ As to the thirde wherfore the comyn peple ben ſette to fore the nobles in the felde of the bataylle in one renge Firſt for as moche as they ben neceſſarye to alle nobles For the rooke whiche ſtandeth on the ryght ſyde and is vicaire of the kynge what may he doo yf the labourer were not ſette to fore hym and labourid to mynyſtre to hym ſuche temporell thynges as be neceſſary for hym/ And what may the knyght doo yf he ne had to fore hym the ſmyth for to forge his armours.

ſadellis. axis and ſpores and ſuche thynges as apperteyneth to hym/ And what is a knyght worth wyth oute hors and armes/ certaynly nothynge more than on of the peple or laſſe pauenture And in what maner ſhold the nobles lyue yf no man made cloth and bought and ſolde marchandyſe/ And what ſhulde kynges and quenes and the other lordes doo yf they had no phiſicyens ne cyrurgiens/ than I ſaye that the peple ben the glorye of the Crowne And ſuſteyne. the lyf of the nobles And therfore thou that art a lord or a noble man or knyght/ deſpiſe not the comyn peple for as moche as they ben ſette to fore the in y^e^ pleye The ſeconde cauſe is why the peple ben ſette to fore the nobles and haue the table wyde to fore them/ is be cauſe they begyn the bataylle/ They ought to take hede and entende to do theyr offices and theyr craftes/ In ſuche wyſe that they ſuffre the noble men to gouerne the cytees and to counceylle and make ordenances of the peple of the batayll how ſhold a labourer a plowman or a craftyman counceylle and make ordenance of ſuche thynges as he neuer lerned/ And wote ne knoweth the mater vpon what thynge the counceylle ought to be taken/ Certes the comyn peple ought not to entende to none other thynge but for to do their ſeruyſe and the office whiche is couenable vnto hem/ And hyt apperteyneth not to hem to be of counceyllys ne at the aduocacions/ ne to menace ne to threte noman/ for ofte tymes by menaces and by force good counceylle is diſtroublid/ And where good counceyll faylleth/ there ofte tymes the cytees ben betrayed

and deſtroyed/ And Plato ſayth That the comyn thynges and the cytees ben bleſſid whan they ben gouerned by wyſe men/ or whan the gouernours ſtudye in wiſedom/ And ſo hit apperteyneth to the comyn to lerne to vttre the maters & the maner of procuracion to fore they be counceyllours/ For hit happeth oftetymes that he that maketh hym wyſer that he vnderſtandeth is made more foole than he is/ And the fourth cauſe wherfore y^{t} ther ben in the tabler as many poynts wyde as ben full. hit is to wete for that they what euer they be that haue peple to gouerne/ ought tenforce to haue cytees & caſtellis & poſſeſſions for to ſette his peple theryn/ And for to laboure & doo their ocupacion/ For for to haue the name of a kynge with out royame is a name voyde/ and honour with oute prouffit/ And alle nobleſſe wyth oute good maners/ and with out ſuche thinges as nobleſſe may be mayntenyd/ ought better be callid folye than nobleſſe. And ſhamefull pouerte is the more greuous whan hit cometh by nature of an hyhe and noble burth or hous. For noman gladly wole repreue a poure man of the comyn peple/ But euery man hath in deſpite a noble man that is poure yf he haue not in hym good maners and vertuous/ by whiche his pouerte is forgoten/ and truly a royame with oute haboundance of goodes by whiche hit may be gouerned and proſpere/ may better be callyd a latrocynye or a neſt of theeuys than a royame/ Alas what haboundance was ſome tymes in the royames. And what proſpite/ In whiche was Iuſtice/ And euery man in his office contente/ how

ſtood the cytees that tyme in worſhip and renome/ how was renomed the noble royame of Englond Alle the world dredde hit And ſpack worſhip of hit/ how hit now ſtandeth and in what haboundance I reporte me to them that knowe hit yf ther ben theeuis wyth in the royame or on the ſee/ they knowe that laboure in the royame And ſayle on the ſee I wote well the fame is grete therof I pray god ſaue that noble royame And ſende good true and politicque counceyllours to the gouernours of the ſame &c./ And nobleſſe of lignage wyth oute puyſſance and might is but vanyte and deſpite. And hit is ſo as we haue ſayd to fore that theſchequer whiche the philoſopher ordeyned repreſented and figured the ſayd cyte of Babilone And in lyke wyſe may hit figure a royame and ſignefye alle the world And yf men regarde and take heed vnto the poyntes vnto the middes of euery quadrante and ſo to double euery quadrant to other the myles of this cyte all way doublinge vnto the nombre of. lxiiii. The nombre of the ſame ſhulde ſurmounte alle the world/ And not only the world but many worldes by the doublinge of mylis/ whiche doublinge ſo as a fore is ſayd ſhuld ſurmounte alle thynges/ And thus endeth the firſt chapitre of the fourth booke.

The ſeconde chapitre of the fourth tractate treteth of the draught of the kynge/ And how he meuyth hym in the chequer.

WE ought to knowe that in this world/ the kynges ſeygnourye and regne eche in his royame. And in this playe we ought to knowe by the nature of hit how the kynge meueth hym and yſſueth oute of his place/ For ye ſhall vnderſtande that he is ſette in the fourth quadrante or poynt of theſchequer. And whan he is black/ he ſtandeth in the white/ and the knyght on his ryght ſide in white/ And the Alphyn and the rooke in black/ And on the lifte ſide the foure holden the places oppoſite/ And

the rayſon may be ſuche/ For be cauſe that the knyghtes ben the glorye & the crowne of the kynge/ They enſiewe in ſemblable reſidence/ that they doo whan they ben ſette ſemblably on the ryght ſide of the kynge & on the lyfte ſide of the quene/ And for as moche as the rook on the ryght ſyde is vicayre of the kynge he accompanyeth the quene in ſemblable ſiege that the Alphyn doth whiche is Iuge of the kynge/ And in lyke wyſe the lifte rook & the lyfte Alphyn accompanye the kynge in ſemblable ſiege/ In ſuche wyſe as they ben ſette aboute the kynge in bothe ſides wyth the Quene in manere of a crowne/ That they may ſeurely kepe the royame that reluyſeth and ſhyneth in the kynge and in the Quene/ In ſuche wyſe as they may conferme and diffende hym in theyr ſieges and in theyr places. And the more haſtily renne vpon his enemyes And for as moche as the Iuge. the knyght/ and the vicaire. kepe and garnyſshe the kynge on that one ſyde/ They that ben ſette on the other ſyde kepe the Quene/ And thus kepe they alle the ſtrength and fermete of the royame/ And ſemblably otherwhile for to ordeyne the thynges that apperteyne to the counceyll/ and to the beſoygne of the royame/ For yf eche man ſhold entende to his owen proper thynges/ And y^{t} they defended not ner toke hede vnto the thingis y^{t} apperteynen to the kynge to the comyn and to the royame/ the royalme ſhold anōn be deuided in parties And thus myght the Iuge regne/ And the name of the dignyte royall ſhold be loſt/ And truly for as moche as the kynge holdeth the dignyte aboue alle other and the

ſeygnourye royall/ therfore hit apperteyneth not that he abſente hym longe/ ne wythdrawe hym ferre by ſpace of tyme from the maiſter ſiege of his royame/ For whan he wele meue hym/ he ought not to paſſe at the firſt draught the nombre of . iii . poynts/ And whan he begynneth thus to meue from his whyt poynt/ he hath the nature of the rooks of the right ſyde and of the lifte ſyde for to goo black or whithe/ And alſo he may goo vnto the white poynt where the gardes of the Cyte ben ſette And in this poynt he hath the nature of a knyght. And thyſe two maners of meuynge apperteyneth otherwhile to the quene/ and for as moche as the kynge and the quene that ben conioyned to geder by mariage ben one thynge as one fleſsh and blood/ therfore may the kynge meue on the lifte ſide of his propre poynt alſo wele as he were ſette in the place of the quene whiche is black/ and whan he goth right in maner of the rook only/ And hit happen that the aduerſarie be not couered in ony poynt in the ſeconde ligne/ The kynge may not paſſe from his black poynt vnto the thirde ligne/ And thus he ſortiſith the nature of the rook on the ryght ſyde and lyfte ſyde vnto the place of the knyghtes and for to goo ryght to fore In to the whyte poynt to fore the marchant/ And the kynge alſo ſortyſt the nature of the knyghtes whan he goth on the ryght ſyde in two maners/ For he may put hym in the voyde ſpace to fore the phiſicyen/ And in the black ſpace to fore the tauerner/ And on the other ſide he goth in to other two places in lyk wiſe that is to fore the ſmyth/ and the notarye/

And thus as in goynge out firſt in to . iiii . poynts he ſorteth the nature of knyghtes/ and alſo the kynge ſortiſeth the nature of the alphins at his firſt yſſu in to . ii . places And he may goo on bothe ſides vnto the white place voyde/ that one to fore y^e^ ſmith on that on ſide/ and that other to for the tauerner on that other ſide/ All theſe yſſues hath y^e^ kyng out of his propre place of his owen vertue whan he begynneth to meue. But whan he is ones meuyd fro his propre place/ He may not meue but in to one ſpace or poynt/ and ſo from one to an other/ And than he ſortiſeth the nature of the comyn peple/ and thus by good right he hath in hymſelf the nature of alle/ For alle the vertue that is in the membres cometh of the heed and all meuyng of the body/ The begynnynge & lyf comen from the herte/ And all the dignyte that the ſubgettes haue by execucion/ and contynuell apparence of their meuynge & yſſue/ The kynge deteyneth hit & is attribued to hym/ the victorye of the knightes/ the prudence of y^e^ Iuges/ the auctorite of the vicaires or legates The cōtynence of the quene/ the cōcorde & vnyte of y^e^ peple Ben not all thiſe thinges aſcribed vnto the honour and worſhip of the kynge Jn his yſſue whan he meuyd firſt The thirde ligne to fore the peple he neuer excedeth/ Fro in the . iii . nombre alle maner of ſtates begynne to meue For the trynary nombre conteyneth . iii . parties/ whiche make a perfect nombre/ For a trynarye nombre hath. i. ii. iii. Whiche Ioyned to geder maken. vi. Whiche is the firſt parfyt nombre And ſignefieth in this place/ vi.

perſones named that conſtitute the pfection of a royame That is to wete the kynge. the quene. Iuges. knyghtes. the vicaires or legats/ and the comyn peple And therfor the kynge ought to begynne in his firſt meuynge of . iii . poyntes/ that he ſhewe perfection of lyf as well in hym ſelf as in other After that the kynge begynneth to meue he may lede wyth hym the quene/ after the maner of his yſſue For why the quene foloweth vnto two angularye places/ after the maner of the alphyn/ and to a place indirect in the maner of a rook in to the black poynt to fore the phiſicien/ herin is ſignefied that the women may not meue neyther make vowes of pylgremage ner of viage wythoute the wylle of theyr huſbondes/ For yf a woman had a vowed ony thynge/ her huſbonde lyuynge/ and agaynſaynge/ ſhe may not yelde ne accompliſshe her vowe/ yf the huſbond wyll goo oughwer. he may well goo wyth oute her And yf ſo be that the huſbond wyll haue her wyth hym/ ſhe is bounden to folowe hym/ And by reſon For a man is the heed of a woman/ and not econuerſo/ For as to ſuche thingis as longe to patrymony/ they ben lyke/ but the man hath power ouer her body/ And ſo hath not the woman ouer his And therfore whan the kynge begynneth to meue. the Quene may folowe/ And not alleway whan ſhe meuyd it is no nede the kynge to meue/ For why four the firſt lignes be with in the limytes and ſpace of the royame/ And vnto the thirde poynt the kynge may meue at his firſt meuynge out of his propre place/ And whan he paſſith the fourth ligne he goeth oute of his royame.

...ne paſſe oon poynt late hym beware/ For ... of a kynge Is acounted more than a ... of other For whan he expoſeth hym ... ...aylle Hit is neceſſarye that ... ...ly and ſtyly For yf he be taken ... ...ſhette vp/ Alle the ... ale other ſaylle and alle Is fynyſshid ... ... he hath nede to goo and ... ...ſo therfore he may not meue ... ...yrſt meuynge but where ... ...ward or on that ... ...ellis conuerwyſe/ He may ... ...ye the kynge nerrer ... ...And therfore the kynges ... ...approche one nyghe that ... ...whan the kynge hath goon ſo ferre ... ...he is ſole/ And than ... ...he is brought to y^e ex- ... ...ought to take hede that he ... ...yght or an other ſaith chek ... ...with y^e rook That kynge is ... ...ſeth hym to whom his Auc- ... ...who may doo the ... ...be priuyd taken or dede/ ... ...ale the royame he ſhall bere ... ...ſhette in a cyte/ And ... ...were therin ben taken in captiuite ... ...

The ſeconde chapiter of the fourth book of the quene and how ſhe yſſueth oute of her place.

WHAN the Quene whiche is accompanyed vnto the kynge begynneth to meue from her propre place/ She goth in dowble manere/ that is to wete as an Alphyn whan ſhe is black/ ſhe may goo on the ryght ſyde & come in to the poynt to fore the notarye And on the lifte ſyde in the black poynt and come to fore the gardees of the cyte And hit is to wete that ſhe ſortiſeth in her ſelf the nature in .iii. maners firſt on the ryght ſyde to fore the alphyn/ Secondly on the lifte ſyde where the knyght is/ And thirdly indirectly vnto the black poynt to

fore the phiſicyen And the rayſon why. Is for as moche as ſhe hath in her ſelf by grace/ the auctorite that the rooks haue by cōmyſcion/ For ſhe may gyue & graūte many thynges to her ſubgetts graciouſly And thus alſo ought ſhe to haue parfyt wiſedom/ as the alphyns haue whiche ben Iuges/ as hit ſayd aboue in the chapitre of the Quene/ And ſhe hath not the nature of knyghtes/ And hit is not fittynge ne couenable thynge for a woman to goo to bataylle for the fragilite and feblenes of her/ And therfore holdeth ſhe not the waye in her draught as the knyghtes doon/ And whan ſhe is meuyd ones oute of her place ſhe may not goo but fro oon poynt to an other and yet cornerly whether hit be foreward or backward takynge or to be taken/ And here may be axid why the quene goth to the bataylle wyth the kynge/ certainly it is for the ſolace of hym/ and oſtencion of loue/ And alſo the peple deſire to haue ſuceſſion of the kynge And therfore the tartaris haue their wyues in to the felde with hem/ yet hit is not good that men haue theyr wyuys with hem/ but that they abyde in the cytees or within their owne termes/ For whan they ben oute of theyr cytees and limytes they ben not ſure/ but holden ſuſpecte/ they ſhold be ſhamfaſt and hold alle men ſuſpect/ For dyna Iacob's doughter as longe as ſhe was in the hows of her brethern/ ſhe kept her virginite/ But aſſone as ſhe wente for to ſee the ſtrange Regyons. Anone ſhe was corrupt and defowled of the ſone of ſichem/ Seneca ſayth that the women that haue euyll viſages ben gladly not chaſte/ but theyr corage deſireth gladly the

companye of men/ And Solynus· ſaith that no beſtes femellys deſyre to be towched of theyr males whan they haue conceyuyd/ Exept woman whyche ought to be a beſt Rayſonable/ And in thys caas ſhe leſeth her rayſon/ And Sidrac wythneſſeth the ſame And therfore in the olde lawe/ the faders hadd dyuerce wyues and Ancellys to thende· whan one was wyth childe/ they myght take another/ They ought to haue the viſage enclyned for teſchewe the ſight of the men/ that by the ſight they be not meuyd with Incontynence and diffame of other/ And Ouyde ſayth that ther ben ſome That how well that they eſchewe the dede/ yet haue they grete Joye whan they ben prayed/ And therfore ought the good women flee the curyoſitees and places wher they myght falle in blame and noyſe of the peple.

The fourth chapitre of the fourth book Is of the yſſuynge of the Alphyn.

THE manere and nature of the draught of the Alphyn is ſuche/ that he that is black in his propre ſiege is ſette on the right ſide of the kynge/ And he that is whyt is ſette on the lifte ſide/ And ben callyd and named black and white/ But for no cauſe that they be ſo in ſubſtance of her propre colour/ But for the colour of the places in whiche they ben ſette/ And alleway be they black or white/ whan they ben ſette in theyr places/ the alphyn on the ryght ſyde/ goynge oute of his place to the ryght ſydeward comyth to fore the labourer/ And hit is reſon that

the Iuge ought to deffende and kepe the labourers and poſſeſſions whiche ben in his Iuriſdiction by alle right and lawe/ And alſo he may goo on the lyfte ſyde to the wyde place to fore the phiſicien/ For lyke as the phiſiciens haue the charge to hele the Infirmites of a man/ In lyke wyſe haue the Iuges charge to appeſe alle ſtryues and contencions and reduce vnto vnyte/ And to punyſshe and correcte cauſes crymynels/ The lyfte alphyn hath alſo two wayes fro his owen place oon toward y^e^ right ſyde vnto the black ſpace voyde to fore the marchant/ For the marchants nede ofte tymes counceylle and ben in debate of queſtions whiche muſte be determyned by the Iuges/ And that other yſſue is vnto the place to fore the rybauldis/ And that ys be cauſe that ofte tymes amonge them. falle noyſes difcencions thefte and manſlaghter/ wherfore they ought to be punyſshid by the Iuges/ And ye ſhall vnderſtande that the alphyn goth alleway corner wyſe fro the thirde poynt to the thirde poynt kepynge all way his owne ſiege/ For yf he be black/ he goth all way black/ And yf he be whyte he goth alleway whyte. the yſſue or goynge cornerly or angularly ſignefieth cautele or ſubtylyte/ whiche Iuges ought to haue/ The . iii . poyntes betoken . iii . thynges that the Iuge ought to attende/ A Iuge ought to furder rightfull & trewe cauſes. ſecondly he ought to gyue trewe counceyll/ and thirdly he ought to gyue and Iuge rightfull ſentences after tha legeances/ And neuer to goo fro the ryghtwiſnes of the lawe/ And it is to wete that the Alphyn goth in ſix drawhtes alle the tablier

round aboute/ and that he cometh agayn in to his owen place/ And how be hit that alle rayſon and good perfection ſhold be in a kynge/ yet ought hit alſo ſpecially be in them that ben conceyllours of the kynge and the Quene And the kynge ought not to doo ony thynge doubtouſe/ tyll he haue axid counceyll of his Iuges And of the ſages of the royame And therfore ought the Iuge to be parfaytly wyſe and ſage as well in ſcience as in good maners/ And that is ſignefied whan they meue from thre poynts in to thre/ For the ſixt nombre by whiche they goo alle theſchequer/ And brynge hem agayn in to her propre place in ſuche wyſe that thende of her moeuynge is conioyned agayn to the begynnynge of the place frowhens they departed/ And therfore hit is callid a parfayt moeuynge.

The fyfth chapitre of the fourth Tractate Is of the meuynge of the knyghtes.

AFTER the yſſue of the Alphyns we ſhall deuyſe to yow the yſſue & the moeuynge of the knyghtes/ And we ſaye that the knyght on the right ſyde is whyt/ And on the lifte ſyde black/ And the yſſue and moeuynge of hem bothe is in one maner whan ſo is that the knyght on the ryght ſyde Is whyt/ The lyfte knyght is black/ The moeuynge of hem is ſuche/ That the whyte may goo in to the ſpace of the alphyn/ as hit apperyth of the knyght on the right ſide that is whyte. And hath thre yſſues fro his proper place/ one on his ryght ſyde

in the place to fore the labourer/ And hit is well reſon that whan the labourer and huſbonde man hath laboured the feldes/ the knyghtes ought to kepe them/ to thentent that they haue vitailles for them ſelf and their horſes/ The ſecond yſſue is that he may meue hym vnto the black ſpace to fore the notarye or draper. For he is bounden to deffende and kepe them that make his veſtementis & couertours neceſſarye vnto his body. The thirde yſſue is that he may go on the lifte ſyde in to the place to fore y^e^ marchant whiche is ſette to fore the kynge/ the whiche is black/ And the reſon is for as moche as he ought and is holden to deffende the kynge as well as his owen perſone/ whan he paſſith the firſt draught/ he may goo foure wayes/ And whan he is in the myddes of the tabler he may goo in to . viii . places ſondry/ to whiche he may renne And in lyke wiſe may the lyfte knyght goo whiche is black and goth oute of his place in to white/ and in that maner goth the knyght fightynge by his myght/ and groweth and multiplieth in hys poyntis/ And ofte tymes by them the felde Is wonne or loſt/ A knyghts vertue and myght is not knowen but by his fightynge/ and in his fightynge he doth moche harme for as moche as his myght extendeth in to ſo many poyntis/ they ben in many peryllis in theyr fightynge/ And whan they eſcape they haue the honour of the game And thus is hit of euery man the more vailliant/ the more honoured And he that meketh hym ſelf ofte tymes ſhyneth clereſt.

The ſixt chapitre of the fourth tractate treteth of the yſſue of the rooks and of her progreſſion.

THE moeuynge and yſſue of the rooks whiche ben vicairs of the kynge is ſuche/ that the ryght rook is black and the lifte rook is whyte/ And whan the cheſſe ben ſette as well the nobles as the comyn peple firſt in their propre places/ The rooks by their propre vertue haue no wey to yſſue but yf hyt be made to them by the nobles or comyn peple/ For they ben encloſed in their propre ſieges/ And the reſon why is ſuche That for as moche as they ben vicaires lieutenants or comyſſioners of the kynge/ Theyr auctoryte is of none effecte to fore

they yſſue out/ And that they haue begonne tenhaunce theyr office/ For as longe as they be within the palais of the kynge/ So longe may they not vſe ne execute theyr commyſſion/ But anon as they yſſue they may vſe theyr auctorite/ And ye ſhall vnderſtande that their auctorite is grete/ for they repreſente the pſone of the kynge/ and therfore where the tablier is voyde they may renne alle the tablier/ In lyke wyſe as they goon thurgh the royame/ and they may goo as well white as black as well on the right ſide & lifte as foreward and backward/ And as fer may they renne as they fynde the tablier voyde whether hit be of his aduerſaryes as of his owen felowſhip/ And whan the rook is in the myddell of the tablier/ he may goo whiche way he wyll in to foure right lignes on euery ſide/ and hit is to wete that he may in no wyſe goo cornerwyſe/ but allway ryght forth goynge & comynge as afore is ſayd/ wherfore all the ſubgettis of the kinge as well good as euyll ought to knowe by their moeuynge that auctorite of y^e^ vicaires and comyſſioners ought to be verray true rightwis & Iuſte/ and ye ſhall vnderſtande that they ben ſtronge and vertuous in bataylle For the two rooks only may vaynquyſshe a kynge theyr aduerſarye and take hym/ and take from hym his lyf and his royame/ And this was doon whan chirus kynge of perſe And darius kynge of medes ſlewe baltazar and toke his royame from hym. Whiche was neuew to euylmoradach vnder whom this game was founden.

The ſeuenth chapitre of the fourth book treteth of the yſſue of the comyn peple &c.

ONE yſſue and one mouynge appertey-neth vnto alle the peple/ For they may goo fro the poynt they ſtande in at the firſt meuynge vnto the thirde poynt right forth to fore them/ & whan they haue ſo don they may afterward meue no more but fro one poynt ryght forth in to an other/ And they may neuer retorne backward And thus goynge forth fro poynt to poynt They may gete by vertue and ſtrengthe/ that thynge that the other noble fynde by dignyte/ And yf the knyghtes and other nobles helpe hem that they come to the fertheſt

lygne to fore them where theyr aduerſaryes were ſette. They acquyre the dignyte that the quene hath graunted to her by grace/ For yf ony of them may come to thys ſayd ligne/ yf he be white as labourer draper phiſicyen or kepar of the cyte ben/ they reteyne ſuche dignyte as the quene hath/ for they haue goten hit/ and than retornynge agayn homeward/ they may goo lyke as it is ſayd in the chapitre of the quene And yf ony of the pawns that is black/ as the ſmyth the marchant the tauerner and the rybaulde may come wyth oute domage in to the ſame vtteriſt ligne/ he ſhall gete by his vertu the dignyte of the black quene And ye ſhall vnderſtande/ whan thyſe comyn peple meue right forth in her ligne/ and fynde ony noble perſone or of the peple of their aduerſaries ſette in the poynt at on ony ſide to fore hym/ In that corner poynt he may take his aduerſarye wherther hit be on the right ſide or on the lifte/ And the cauſe is that the aduerſaries ben ſuſpecyous that the comyn peple lye In a wayte to Robbe her goodes or to take her perſones whan they goo vpward right forth. And therfore he may take in the right angle to fore hym one of his aduerſaries/ As he had eſpied his perſone/ And in the lifte angle as robber of his goodes/ and whether hit be goynge foreward or retornynge fro black to whyte or whyte to black/ the pawn muſt allway goo in his right ligne/ and all way take in the corner that he findeth in his waye/ but he may not goo on neyther ſide tyll he hath ben in the furdeſt ligne of theſchequer/ And that he hath taken the nature of the draughtes

of the quene/ And than he is a fiers/ And than he may goo on alle ſides cornerwyſe fro poynt to poynt only as the quene doth fightynge and takynge whom he findeth in his waye/ And whan he is thus comen to the place where y^e^ nobles his aduerſaries were ſette he ſhall be named white fiers or black fiers/ after the poynt that he is in/ and there taketh he the dignyte of the quene &c. And all theſe thinges may appere to them that beholden y^e^ play of the cheſſe/ and ye ſhall vnderſtande that no noble man ought to haue deſpite of the comyn peple/ for hit hath ben ofte tymes ſeen/ that by their vertu & witte/ Diuerce of them haue comen to right highe & grete aſtate as poopes biſshoppes Emperours and kynges/ As we haue in the hiſtorye of Dauid that was made kynge/ of a ſhepherd and one of the comyn peple/ and of many other &c. And in lyke wyſe we rede of the contrary/ that many noble men haue ben brought to myſerye by their defaulte As of gyges whiche was right riche of landes and of richeſſes And was ſo proude that he wente and demanded of the god appollo/ yf ther were ony in the world more riche or more happy than he was/ and than he herde a voys that yſſued out of the foſſe or pitte of the ſacrefices/ that a peple named agalaus ſophide whiche were poure of goodes and riche of corage was more acceptable than he whiche was kynge And thus the god Appollo alowed more the ſapience & the ſeurte of the poure man and of his lityll mayne/ than he dide the aſtate and the perſone of giges ne of his ryche mayne/ And hit is more to alowe a

lityll thynge ſeurly pourſiewed than moche good taken in fere and drede And for as moche as a man of lowe lignage is by his vertue enhaunſed ſo moche the more he ought to be glorious and of good renomee/ virgile that was born in lombardye of y^e^ nacion of mantua and was of lowe and ſymple lignage/ yet he was ſouerayn in wiſedom and ſcience and the moſte noble of alle the poetes/ of whome the renome is and ſhall be durynge the world/ ſo hit happend that an other poete axid and demanded of hym wherfore he ſetted not the verſis of homere in his book/ And he anſwerd that he ſhold be of right grete ſtrength and force that ſhold pluck the clubbe out of hercules handes/ And thys ſuffyceth the ſtate and draughtis of the comyn peple &c.

The eyght chapitre and the laſt of the fourth book of the epilogacion and recapitulacion of this book.

FOR as moche as we ſee and knowe that the memorye of the peple is not retentyf but right forgetefull whan ſome here longe talis & hiſtoryes whiche they can not alle reteyne in her mynde or recorde Therfore I haue put in this preſent chapitre all y^e^ thynges aboueſayd as ſhortly as I haue conne/ Firſt this playe or game was founden in the tyme of euilmerodach kynge of Babilone/ And exerſes the philoſopher otherwyſe named philometer fonde hit/ And the cauſe why/ was for the correction of the kynge lyke as hit apperith in thre the firſt chapitres/

for the ſaid kynge was ſo tyrannous and felon that he might ſuffre no correction/ But ſlewe them and dide do put hem to deth/ that correctid hym/ and had than do put to deth many right wyſe men Than the peple beynge ſorowfull and ryght euyll pleſid of this euyll lyf of the kynge prayd and requyred the philoſopher/ that he wolde repryſe and telle the kynge of his folye/ And than the philoſopher anſwerd that he ſhold be dede yf he ſo dide/ and the peple ſayd to hym/ Certes thou oughteſt ſonner wille to dye to thende that thy renome myght come to the peple/ than the lyf of the kynge ſhold contynue in euyll for lacke of thy counceyll/ or by faulte of reprehenſion of the/ or that thou darſt not doo and ſhewe/ that thou ſaiſt/ And whan the philoſopher herd this he promiſid to the peple y^t^ he wold put hym in deuoyr to correcte hym/ and than he began to thynke in what maner he myght eſcape the deth and kepe to the peple his promeſſe/ And than thus he made in this maner and ordeyned theſchequer of . lxiiii . poynts as Is afore ſayd/ And dide doo make the forme of chequers of gold and ſiluer In humayne fygure after the facyons and formes as we haue dyuyſid and ſhewid to yow to fore in theyr chapitres/ And ordeyned the moeuynge and theſtate after that it is ſaid in the chapitres of theſcheſſes And whan the philoſopher had thus ordeyned the playe or game/ and that hit pleſid alle them that ſawe hit/ on a tyme as the philoſopher playd on hit/ the kynge cam and ſawe hit and deſired to playe at this game/ And than the phyloſopher began tenſeigne and teche the

kynge the ſcience of the playe & the draughtes. Saynge to hym fyrſt how the kynge ought to haue in hymſelf pytie. debonairte and rightwiſnes as hit is ſaid to fore in the chapitre of the kynge And he enſeygned to hym the eſtate of the quene and what maners ſhe ought to haue And than of the alphyns as connceyllours and Iuges of the royame And after the nature of the knyghtes/ how they ought to be wiſe. trewe and curtoys and alle the ordre of knyghthode And than after/ the nature of the vicaires & rooks as hit apperyth in theyr chappitre And after this how the comyn peple ought to goo eche in his office/ And how they ought to ſerue the nobles. And whan the philoſopher had thus taught and enſeigned the kynge and his nobles by the maner of the playe and had rephended hym of his euyll maners/ The kynge demanded hym vpon payne of deth to telle hym the cauſe why and wherfore he had made & founden thys playe and game And what thynge meuyd hym therto/ And than the philoſopher conſtrayned by fere and drede anſwerd/ that he had promyſid to the peple whiche had requyred hym that he ſhold correcte and repriſe the kynge of his euyll vices/ but for as moche as he doubtid the deth and had ſeen that the kynge dide do ſlee the ſages & wyſe men/ That were ſo hardy to blame hym of his vices/ he was in grete anguyſshe & ſorowe/ how he myght fynde a maner to correcte & reprehende the kynge/ And to ſaue his owen lyf/ and thus he thought longe & ſtudyed that he fonde thys game or playe/ Whiche he hath do ſette forth for to amende and correcte the lyf of the

kynge and to change his maners/ and he adiouſtyd with all that he had founden this game for ſo moche as the lordes and nobles habondynge in delyces & richeſſis/ And enioynge temporell peas ſhold eſchewe ydlenes by playnge of this game/ And for to gyue hem cauſe to leue her penſifnes and ſorowes/ In auyſynge & ſtudyynge this game. And whan the kynge had herd alle thyſe cauſes/ He thought that the philoſopher had founde a good maner of correction/ And than he thanketh hym gretly/ and thus by thenſeygnement and lernynge of the phyloſopher he changid his lyf his maners & alle his euyll condicions And by this maner hit happend that the kynge that to fore tyme had ben vicyous and diſordynate in his liuyng was made Iuſte. and vertuous. debonayre. gracious and and full of vertues vnto alle peple/ And a man that lyuyth in this world without vertues liueth not as a man but as a beſte*/ And therfore my ryght redoubted lord I pray almighty god to ſaue the kyng our ſouerain lord & to gyue hym grace to yſſue as a kynge & tabounde in all vertues/ & to be aſſiſted with all other his lordes in ſuch wyſe y^{t} his noble royame of Englond may proſpere & habounde in vertues/ and y^{t} ſynne may be eſchewid iuſtice kepte/ the royame defended good

* "And therfore &c." to the end, is wanting in the ſecond edition, and, inſtead thereof, the treatiſe concludes in the following manner—

"Thenne late euery man of what condycion he be that redyth or herith this litel book redde take therby enſaumple to amende hym.

Explicit per Caxton."

men rewarded malefactours punyſhid & the ydle peple to be put to laboure that he wyth the nobles of the royame may regne glorioufly In conquerynge his rightfull enheritaunce/ that verray peas and charite may endure in bothe his royames/ and that marchandiſe may haue his cours in ſuche wiſe that euery man eſchewe ſynne/ and encrece in vertuous occupacions/ Praynge your good grace to reſſeyue this lityll and ſymple book made vnder the hope and ſhadowe of your noble protection by hym that is your moſt humble ſeruant/ in gree and thanke And I ſhall praye almighty god for your longe lyf & welfare/ whiche he preſerue And ſende yow thaccompliſhement of your hye noble. Ioyous and vertuous deſirs Amen :/: Fynyſhid the laſt day of marche the yer of our lord god. a. thouſand foure honderd and lxxiiii

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GLOSSARY.

AAS, 152; ace.
Aduocacions, 160; Latin *advocationis*, aſſembly of advocates, the bar.
Agayneſaynge, 167; gainſaying.
Alphyns, 36. The alphin, or elephant, was the piece anſwering to the biſhop in the modern game of cheſs.
Ameruaylled, 141; aſtoniſhed.
Ample, ampole, 118, 119; Latin *ampulla*, veſſel for holding liquids.
Ancellys, 171; Latin *ancilla*, handmaids, concubines.
Appertly, 114; openly.
Appetiſſid, 108; ſatisfied, ſatiated.
Ardautly [ardantly], 109; ardently.
Arrache, 127; French *arracher*, to pull, to pluck.
Auenture, 136; adventure.
Axe, 147; aſk.

Barate, 61; trouble, ſuffering.
Beaulte, 81; beauty.
Benerous, 141; French *bénir*, bleſſed.
Beſaunt, 109; beſant, a Byzantine gold coin.
Beneurte, 141; French *bonheur*, good fortune.
Bole, 130; bull.
Bourdellys, 122; brothels, ſtews.
Butters, 147; freebooters.
Butyn, 50; French *butin*, plunder, ſpoils.

Chamberyer, 111, 137; Chambrere, 144; woman ſervant, concubine.
Chequer, 157; cheſs-board.
Chauffed, 132; French *échauffer*, to warm.
Compaignon, 126; French *compagnon*, companion.
Connynge, 124; cunning, knowledge.
Corrompith, 84; French *corrompre*, to corrupt.
Couenable, p. 84; French *convenable*, proper, fit.
Courrours, 146; French *coureurs*, runners, meſſengers.

Curatours, 147 ; guardians, truſtees.

Dampned, 136 ; condemned.
Debonairly, 134 ; debonairte, 20 ; French *de bon air*, in a good manner, with good will.
Depeſshed, 3 ; French *dépêcher*, deſpatched.
Deporte, 64 ; deport.
Devour, 1 ; French *devoir*, duty.
Diſmes, 77 ; Latin *decimæ*, tenths, or tithes.
Diſobeyſance, 71 ; diſobedience.
Diſpendynge, 151 ; ſpending.
Diſtemprance, 131 ; intemperance.
Dolabre, 85 ; Latin *dolabra*, axe, pick-axe.
Doubted, 48 ; redoubted, cf. doughty.
Drawhtes, 173 ; draughts, movements.
Drof, 122 ; drove.
Dronkelewe, 152 ; drunkenneſs.
Dronkenſhyp, 84 ; drunkenneſs.
Dyſe, 147 ; dice.

Enbraſid, 125 ; embraced.
Enpeſsheth, 132 ; French *empêcher*, to forbid.
Enpoigne, 2 ; French *empoigner*, to take in hand.
Enſeygned, 139 ; French *enſeigner*, to teach.
Eſchauffed, 130 ; French *échauffer*, to warm.
Eſmoued, 123 ; French *émouvoir*, to move.
Eſpicers, 126 ; French *epicier*.
Eſpryſed, 109 ; French *épris*, taken.
Ewrous, 111 ; French *heureuſe*, happy.

Feet, 135 ; French *fait*, act, feat.
Ferremens. See Serremens.
Fleſſly, 130 ; fleſhly.
Folelarge, 147 ; prodigal, extravagant.
Fumee, 76, 124 ; French *fumée*, ſmoke, vapour.

Garnyſche, 164 ; garniſh, adorn, ſet off.
Genere, 157 ; general.
Goddes man, 151 ; godſman, ſaint or religious perſon.
Goſſibs, 129 ; goſſyb, 28 ; goſſips, goſſip.
Gree, 2 ; French *gré*, liking.
Grucche, 77 ; grudge.
Guariſshors, 127 ; French *guérir*, to cure.

Hauoyr, 111 ; French *avoir*, poſſeſſions.
Herberowe, 129 ; harbour.
Hiſtoriagraph, 34 ; hiſtorian.
Hoos, 132 ; hoarſe.

Iape, 21 ; jape, trick.

Jolye, lvii ; fine (French *joli*).

Keruars, 86 ; carvers.

Langed, 136 ; belonged.
Latrocynye, 161 ; Latin *latrocinium*.
Lecherye, 131 ; lechery.
Letted, 141 ; prevented.

Male, 136 ; mail, trunk.
Maleheurte, 70 ; French *malheur*, misfortune, ſorrow.
Maronners, 86 ; mariners.
Martel, 86 ; hammer.
Meure, 137 ; French *mœurs*, manners.

Mordent, 70; biting.
Mortifyed, 108; mortified, deadened.
Muſyque, 119; muſic.

Nonne, 102; nun.
Noye, 86; annoyance.

Oeuurages, 75; French *ouvrages*, works.
Oſtencion, 170; ſhow.
Olefauntes, 130; elephants.
Oughwer, 167; over.
Oultrage, 129; outrage.

Pardurable, 105; everlaſting.
Parfyt, 166; French *parfait*, perfect.
Pawōn, 118; pawn.
Payringe, 134; "without a pareing," *i.e.* undiminiſhed.
Peages, 139; peagers, 144; French *péage, péager*. A local tax on merchandiſe in paſſage for the maintenance of roads and bridges. A gatherer of the *péage*.
Penſee, 127; French *penſée*, thought.
Pourueance, 113; providence.

Rawe, 132; rough.
Renomee, 134; renown.
Roynyous, 66; ruinous.
Rybaulde, 146; ribalds.

Saciat, 131; ſatiated.
Sawlter, 82; pſalter.
Scawage, 139; ſcavage, toll or tax.
Semblant, 141; French *ſembler*, to appear, to ſeem.
Serremens, 119; cerements.
Siege, 172; ſeat.
Slear, 119; ſlayer.
Spores, 85; ſpurs.
Spyncoppis, 41; ſpiders.
Stracched, 128; ſtretched.
Supplye, 2; French *ſupplier*, to ſupplicate.
Syſe, 152; ſix.

Tacches, 33; gifts, bequeſts. A. S. *tacan*, having the double meaning of giving and taking.
Tapyte, 149; carpet.
Tencyons, 129; temptations.
Trycheur, 116; tricker.
Tryſte, 141; ſad.
Tutours, 147; tutors, guardians.

Vignours, 41; vine-dreſſer.

Wetyngly, 104; knowingly.

Yates, 139; gates.
Yre, 81; ire.

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